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Music in the Medieval World

ALBERT SEAY

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Music in the Medieval World

ALBERT SEAY
The Colorado College

PRENTICE-HALL, INC., ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY

to Leo Schrade,
in memory of a great scholar and teacher

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Foreword

Students and informed amateurs of the history of music have long needed a series of books that are comprehensive, authoritative, and engagingly written. They have needed books written by specialists—but specialists interested in communicating vividly. The Prentice-Hall History of Music Series aims at filling these needs.

Six books in the series present a panoramic view of the history of Western music, divided among the major historical periods—Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Classic, Romantic, and Contemporary. The rich yet neglected folk and traditional music of both hemispheres is discussed in two other books. The music of the United States, from the colonial period to the present, is the subject of yet another. Taken together, the nine volumes of the series are a distinctive and, we hope, distinguished contribution to the history of the music of the world's peoples. Each volume, moreover, may be read singly as a substantial account of the music of its period or area.

The authors of the series are scholars of national and international repute—musicologists, critics, and teachers of acknowledged stature in their respective fields of specialization. In their contributions to the Prentice-Hall History of Music Series their goal has been to present works of solid scholarship that are eminently readable, with significant insights into music as a part of the general intellectual and cultural life of man.

H. WILEY HITCHCOCK, *Editor*

Preface

The historian of medieval music faces problems unlike those seen by historians dealing with any later periods. To begin with, the concepts in back of the music of this time are not only unfamiliar, but also the tonal results therefrom are strange to modern ears, results founded as they are upon philosophical and theological bases no longer current or common knowledge. Further, the difficulties of making medieval music easily available have been such that even those interested in the musical developments of the past in the larger sense have found it an almost impossible task to fit the two facets, the philosophical scheme and the practical productions, into a unified whole. Too often, historians of medieval music have spoken solely of the technical aspects of composition alone; too often, historians of medieval philosophy have overlooked the high place of music within the thought of the time.

It is my hope that this introduction to the music of the Middle Ages will bridge something of this gap, tracing the interrelations between the labors of musicians on the practical side and the monuments of rational organization erected by the thinkers of the age. While the end-products, those compositions which have come down to us, are of importance as reflections of musical taste, their understanding and enjoyment can only be achieved to the fullest extent by a comprehension of all the reasons for the shape in which they exist, both technical and esthetic. While much emphasis has been placed on the development of musical techniques, an equal stress has been laid on the forces, not always purely musical in the modern sense, that determine the path followed by the composer and performer.

My thanks go, above all, to Prof. H. Wiley Hitchcock, General Editor of this series, for his valuable advice and help have made the text what it is; his corrections and emendations have eliminated much that might have caused confusion. I am also most grateful to my friend and colleague, Prof. Carlton Gamer, who read the various drafts and gave many suggestions as to approach; the long hours he spent in helping clarify ideas cannot be easily repaid. A word of appreciation must also go to two of my students, Miss Jane E. Humphrey and Miss Mary Jo Wagner; Miss Humphrey typed the greater part of the text and Miss Wagner gave needed help in proofreading of the final text. I have also been blessed with an understanding wife, Janine D. Seay, whose ears were always open to hear of difficulties and whose sacrifices in living with a man doing a book can never be fully compensated for.

A.S.

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Introduction

For the student interested in almost any human activity in that long period from the birth of Christ to the emergence of the modern world, that era we call the Middle Ages, its history is inevitably part of that of the Catholic Church. Beginning as a minor heretical sect within the Jewish faith, it steadily rose in following centuries to a place of supreme importance in Western Europe, eventually dominating nearly all phases of secular and sacred activity. With its objective the preparation of the human soul for a life to come after death, the Church early assumed the task of guiding life on earth in all its spiritual and physical aspects. Its preëminence began to wane only when men at last began to worry less about their future existence in heaven and to occupy themselves more with their present existence on earth. Its rise was a slow process, punctuated by the appearance of both religious and political leaders, men such as St. Augustine (354-430), Popes Leo I (440-461) and Gregory I (590-604), both given the appellation "Great" for their achievements, and Popes Nicholas I (858-867) and Gregory VII (1073-1085). The apogee of the Church's ascendancy came in the thirteenth century, the period of the final Crusades and the "political" Popes, from Innocent III (1198-1216) to Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the final Pope to claim that universal authority announced earlier by Gregory VII. It was this same century that saw the appearance of two of the great representatives of the Church's spiritual mission, St. Francis of Assisi (d. 1226) and St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). After the Great Jubilee of 1300, the rising tide of secularization and national sentiment, the low state into which the Papacy rapidly fell, the Babylonian Captivity and the following Great Schism—all these and other factors combined to destroy a unity of Western civilization thirteen centuries in the making.

In view of the central position of the Church during the Middle Ages, it is no surprise that the primary function of music and musicians during this age was one of service to that institution. Although much music did exist for secular purposes and many musicians satisfied the needs of secular audiences, the Church and its musical opportunities remained the central preoccupation. No better evidence of this emphasis on the religious can be seen than in the relative scarcity of both information and primary source materials for secular music as compared to those for the sacred. Music in the day-by-day activities of European life always remained a favorite pastime, but little effort was made to preserve it, for, in view of the attitudes toward life on earth as a transitory thing, it could not be considered as more than a passing diversion, unworthy of special effort for preparation or preservation; the very techniques of preservation—by musical notation, for example—were not normally known by the secular musician. Only with the thirteenth century and after, when the previously accepted order began to change, was there a realization that secular music might be well deserving of the same artistic significance and meaning already developed in that for religious purposes.

Within the Church, music occupied a special place of importance, not only for its high position as a major constituent of the daily liturgical round but also for its unique role in the educational system of the time. As *musica practica*, it was a necessity in the various services of the day and, from the feeble beginnings of organized worship in the early days of the Church to the elaborate ceremonies of later centuries, the composer and performer found themselves required to lend their talents to the provision of music for a steadily expanding liturgy. This heavy reliance on the musician, however, cannot be explained solely on the basis that music provided a pleasant background to the services or that its place was the result of tradition and custom alone. Far more important for a realization of music's high position is the understanding of its other branch so important in the Middle Ages, *musica speculativa*, that area of music serving as a part of the long process of education needed for the philosopher and theologian. Here, the function of music was not one derived from its use as a sounding art, but from its metaphysical possibilities, wherein it could act as a *speculum* or "mirror" of the universe, a means whereby one might comprehend the harmony of God's creations.

One may speak ideally of the relationship between these two areas of medieval music and their representatives as symbiotic, for the one could not have existed without the other; each grew by drawing upon the other for sustenance. The fact that music was defined as the knowledge of numbers related to sound goes far to point up the interdependence of the *cantor* and *musicus*, the terms used to distinguish the musician-performer from the musician-philosopher. Within the time it was the province of the one to provide the raw material for the other. As a theoretical science, music in its physical manifestations had to take into account the mathematical and metaphysical explanations and connotations brought to it by its place as a liberal art. There had always to be a constant recognition that technical advances by the *cantores* had, in the long run, to be related to the philosophical system as developed by the *speculatores*. The function of sounding music within theology could not be completely ignored by the practitioner. When considering music as a practical science, the philosopher was always well aware that the *cantor*, in his various technical innovations, had certain approaches that were of sufficient interest that adjustments would have to be made to include these new developments within the already established scheme. The medieval ideal was thus achievable only by coordination of the duple demands made by *cantor* and *musicus*, the first that music's sounding manifestations should have sufficient technical possibilities to intrigue the performer and composer, the second that the aural results should have the proper theological and philosophical foundations to allow for the appropriate metaphysical deductions.

It is evident that such a static relation could not endure, for the practical musician's interest in his own particular branch of music eventually led him into byways that were not always possible of easy adoption by the theorist. In the early part of the Middle Ages, few such problems existed, for the sheer size of the task of providing music for a steadily expanding liturgy gave little time or energy for anything else. However, with the passing of time, when the musical outlines of the services had been practically filled in, there was the artistic urge to extend and complicate what had previously been sufficient to fulfill the required function. In extending the place of music within the liturgy, additions were made to almost every part of the service, often without too much concern for the shape of the liturgy as a whole or without care for the overall balance of the various elements within it. It is no wonder that the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century found that one of its most Herculean tasks was the pruning away of the many musical growths that had thus been grafted upon the liturgy in preceding centuries, for the musical elements added thereupon had, in many cases, almost completely obscured the religious character of the service.

Until the thirteenth century, no problems arose to cause difficulties for the theorist. As the accretions to the liturgy were stylistically no different from the material to which they were added, there was little necessity to take them into account. As monophonic works, the additions fell easily into place. The first great crisis for medieval theory came with the introduction and rise of polyphony, a technique of such obvious practical worth that something had to be done. Quickly enough the system was enlarged to accept the novelty, giving it a speculative justification that encouraged further experimentation on the part of the composer. No sooner had this difficulty been surmounted than the theorist was faced with the recognition of advances in the area of rhythm, the development of mensural techniques. As before, the theorist managed to find reasons of speculative character that would make a new approach to rhythm part of the philosophical corpus, although the task was not as easy as before. Up to this point, the thirteenth century, the speculator managed to assimilate the advances in technique made by the practitioner and to maintain his domination of the situation.

With the decline of the Church's position and the rise of the secular to a position of importance in the fourteenth century, the ability of the philosopher to adjust himself to practical developments and to adapt them to the system began to wane. Justification on theological grounds for technical procedures became steadily less possible and the composer began to work out his problems solely on the grounds of technical requirements, without regard for anything except the practical solution of the problem at hand. No longer was it necessary that practical procedures be reinforced by scholastic reasoning for acceptance; the successful employment of technique or the offer of practical directions was sufficient justification in itself. Although theoretical treatises in the older manner continued to be written, expressing the traditional viewpoints of the past, inspection of their contents reveals that they were completely out of touch with the practical events of their own day. Practical treatises, even though including many of the speculative elements formerly so essential, no longer emphasized the relations between the two areas; in most of them, it is obvious that, when philosophical excursions are made, the writer is making a bow to tradition before embarking upon what is of real interest, the description of practical conventions. Up to the thirteenth century, speculative music was a growing organism, expanding to include practical novelties as they arose; after, it remained as it had been then, without change and with little power to influence or reflect the changed atmosphere.

Thus it is that our history of medieval music must mirror the alterations brought about through the continual urge of the practical musician to indulge his interest in his art as a technique and his obvious delight in the exploration of the purely tonal, with a consequent continuous overfulfillment of functional requirements. Beginning with the place of music in the Church, we shall describe this systematic expansion of the place of music within the liturgy, proceeding then to the growth of contrapuntal and mensural techniques as a new way of fulfilling those functions. With the decline of the Church's supremacy at the end of the thirteenth century, we shall note the broadening of the musicians' function to include the secular and a consequent rise of divergencies in musical practice between

France and Italy. Finally, our story will close with the eclipse of those nations as the sources of musical leadership through the decadence of those techniques brought to their peak in the great era of Notre Dame de Paris and the introduction of new approaches from other parts of Europe. It is at this point that the music of the Middle Ages ceased to exist, for neither its speculative qualities nor its technical foundations were longer held as valid guides for new generations. The age of the Renaissance had begun.

Bibliography

The most extended history of medieval music in English is that by Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940); it is highly recommended, although it badly needs revision in light of the discoveries of the almost quarter-century since its appearance. The most useful of the newer histories is the *New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954-), of which the first three volumes have appeared. For a discussion of practical elements, Hugo Riemann's *History of Music Theory* as translated and edited by Raymond Haggh (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962) is valuable, although it does not go beyond the study of musical techniques.

For samples of the music, the *Historical Anthology of Music*, Vol. I, by Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946) is indispensable. It may be supplemented by Arnold Schering, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel, 1931).

Translations of excerpts from theorists of the period are given by Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1950); this is a major source. Other translations, of varying quality, are edited by the Institute of Medieval Music. The principal Latin texts, in need of revision, are found in the monumental Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica*, 3 vols. (Typis San-Blasianis, 1784: many reprints), and the C. E. H. Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, 4 vols. (Paris: Durand, 1864-1876: many reprints). Individual treatises have been published in modern critical editions by the American Institute of Musicology, whose goal is the eventual replacement and extension of the works of Gerbert and Coussemaker.

I

Musical and Philosophical Backgrounds

In view of the position of early Christianity as a sect within the long-established Jewish faith, it is no surprise that the foundation of Christian responses to the problems of liturgy and, by extension, the place of music within that liturgy were heavily conditioned by Jewish procedures. As Jews, the Apostles had been accustomed to a certain succession of liturgical acts; after their conversion, their major goal was not the construction of a completely new order of services but rather the addition of purely Christian elements to an already existing Jewish framework. As a sect within the Jewish faith, the first Christians spent most of their efforts on the conversion of their fellow Jews, utilizing the synagogues as areas for their preaching. To the time of St. Paul, they continued to emphasize their relationship with Judaism, attending both the Temple (Acts 3:1; Luke 24:52-53) and the synagogue (Acts 9:20); even on those occasions when they met separately and solely as Christians, they occasionally referred to their gatherings as synagogues (James 2:2; Heb. 10-25). In these meetings, they continued to adhere to the form of the Jewish service but with Christian additions. As in Jewish rites, music in the form of psalm-singing occupied an important place in the services of the first Christians.

Jewish musical practices

For the Jews, music had always held a major position in worship. Old Testament references to music as an accompaniment to the praise of God are many, from the accounts of special music on occasions of rejoicing (the "Song of Miriam") to the collection of psalms written by David and others. Within organized liturgy, the place of music was always high, for one special group of the Levites, the tribe of priests, was assigned the task of providing music for the Temple, the original center of the Jewish faith. Something of music's power and position in Jewish minds may be easily seen in a passage describing the dedication of the Temple by Solomon (II Chron. 6:12-14):

> . . . the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and brethren, . . . having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets: It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, and praised the Lord . . . that then the house was filled with a cloud . . . for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.

Although, in a large sense, the liturgical organization of the Temple services had little real effect on that of the Church, certain elements did exert some influence. Among them should be noted the establishment of the idea of a body of priests and musicians exclusively dedicated to their one task, with special schools for their training. In coming centuries, a major part of the Church's work would be the founding of seminaries for the education of a non-laic priesthood and the provision of special choir schools for the making of professional singers. In addition, within the Temple services, certain psalms were linked to specific days of the week, thus suggesting a kind of liturgical organization; the Septuagint, the first Greek translation of the Old Testament, gives these psalms titles based on their place in the week's services. This feeling for ritual arrangement over a space of time was to be of great significance in the devising of a liturgical order by the Church.

More important for Christian liturgical procedures was the order of worship within the synagogues, the Jewish houses of prayer, praise, and religious instruction. Whatever the reasons for the rise of the synagogue, and there are many hypotheses, the fact remains that, to the average Jew of early Christian times, it was the focus of his religion, for every city and village with a Jewish population had at least one; some cities had several. For the Jew living outside Jerusalem and thus rarely able to attend the Temple, the synagogue was the place where he went to read, to pray, and to meditate. As the accustomed source of religious inspiration, it occupied a place in Jewish everyday life that the Temple, even before its final destruction by Titus in A.D. 70, had never occupied; with the definitive disappearance of the Temple, the synagogue became the center of Jewish religious observances. As such, it was that source of liturgy most known to early Christians and hence served as something of a model for their own practices.

Although we cannot be sure of all the details, it is positive that the synagogue services of the early Christian era were generally organized around readings from the Scriptures, a sermon, the singing of psalms, the saying of prayers, and the performance of songs of praise. In all of these except the sermon, music played an important role as the accompaniment to the word, for music had long been a traditional way to set apart the religious act and its texts from the everyday; the extraordinary nature of the service to God required extraordinary means.

Generally, there were two Scriptural readings, the first taken from the Pentateuch or the first five books of the Old Testament, the second from the Prophets. The readings from the Pentateuch do not seem to have been originally a constant part of the daily round, being reserved for the Sabbath (Saturday), Monday, Thursday, and special feast days. The material read was based on a liturgical division of the Pentateuch into short sections, insuring that the whole would be read twice in seven years. By the time of Jesus, readings from the Torah or the Law, the Jewish term for the first five books, seem to have become a daily part of the service. These readings were sung to a special set of formulae, indicated in later centuries by signs written above or below the words. Since the passing on of the tradition was done by oral and not written techniques, many different interpretations grew up in the course of years and we can know little definitely as to the specific manner used in the synagogue of early Christian times. But the most important fact remains that Scriptural readings were not without music and that this music was based on the cantillation of standard formulae. The use of a specific liturgical arrangement of the readings is also not without interest, for the idea of a liturgical year is basic to Christian services.

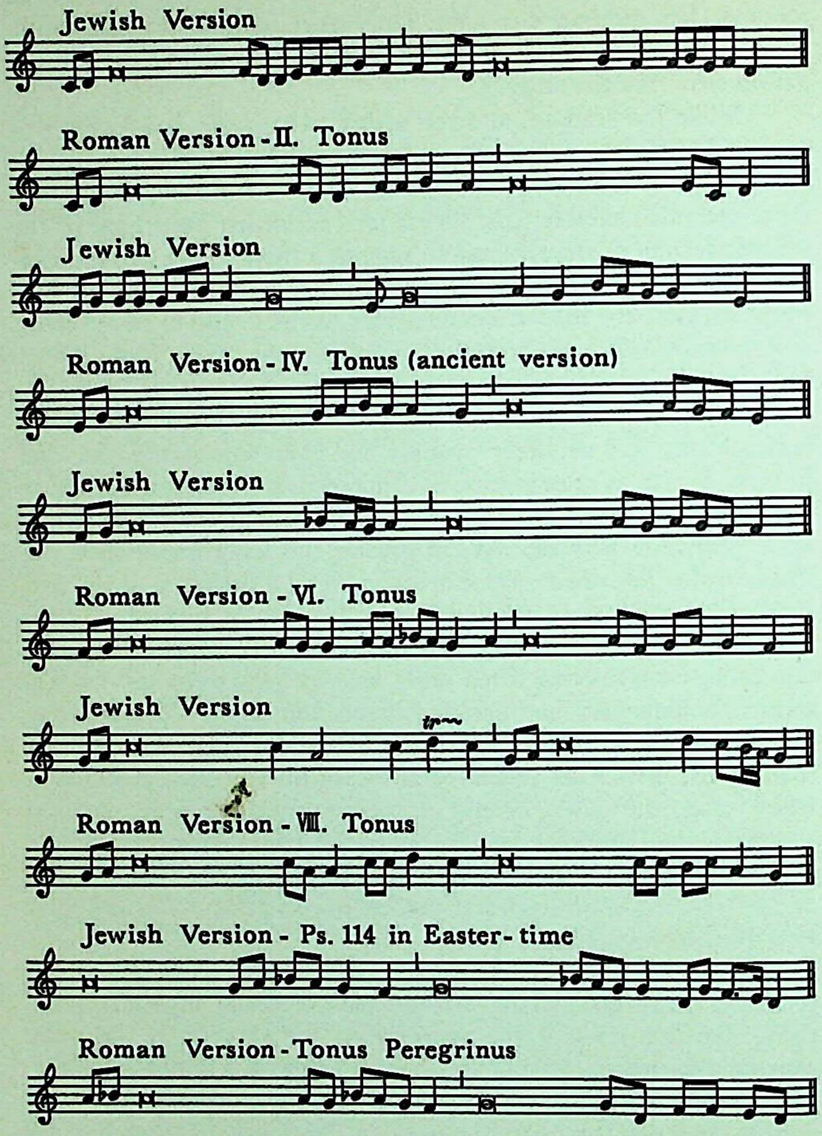
Like the readings, the psalms sung in the synagogue followed formulae, but of different character because of their dissimilar function. In the psalms, unlike the readings, the congregation often took part, whereas the readings were reserved for one man. In most cases, the singing of psalms was guided by a leader, the *precentor*, a Levite specially gifted and trained. With the presence of the *precentor*, we see the use of certain performance practices, known as responsorial chants, which were later adopted by the Church. Of these, perhaps the most important is the procedure in which the *precentor* sang the psalm by half verses, the congregation repeating what was sung immediately after; this method was used for the teaching of psalms to children. A second method, used with the "Hallel" or "Alleluia" Psalms (Nos. 112 through 118 of the Latin Vulgate Bible), is that in which the *precentor* sings the first line, followed by a repetition by the congregation; the *precentor* then continues, with the congregation repeating the first part of the first line ("Alleluia") in the manner of a refrain. Finally, the *precentor* may sing the whole of each line, the congregation answering with the last half.

In addition to these responsorial methods, there was also the possibility of direct performance, the entire psalm being sung by the *precentor* or the congregation without interruption. The choice of procedure in this case may well have depended on the nature of the music associated with the particular psalm, that is, whether it was of more or less difficult character. One other method is occasionally mentioned, an antiphonal procedure in which one half of the congregation answered the other.

Unlike the readings and the psalms, whose formulae were primarily designed to act as ways of emphasizing the divisions of the textual line, the formulae used in the prayers and songs were of a more melodic character; they were used to impart something of the ecstatic feeling of the text and to suggest a more direct communication from the soul to God. Of particular importance for Christian purposes were the *shema*, a counterpart of the Credo in many ways, and the *kedushah*, a sanctification, much like the triple "Holy, Holy, Holy" of the later Sanctus.

In summary, the Church received from its Jewish ancestry a heritage that was to affect strongly the basic approach to its own liturgy. So far as organization is concerned, the major influence of the synagogue service was that of an overall sequence, a yearly round, with gradations between days of greater and lesser importance, the shape of the individual service being guided by the place of the particular day within the whole scheme. The use of Biblical readings and psalms as major constituents was also retained, together with certain other elements that fitted easily into the new purposes, the sermon as commentary and certain prayers and songs. On the purely musical side, it is evident that many of the formulae and melodies used by the Jews were preserved as a basis for Christian practice; in many cases, the oldest chants of the Church have been matched against Jewish melodies, making clear the close connection of the two. As a sample of the kind of similarities that can be observed, Example 1-1 gives comparisons of certain Jewish psalm tones and their later Roman counterparts.

In addition, the methods used in performance—responsorial, direct, and antiphonal singing—became part of Christian practice. Finally, like the Jews of the synagogues, the Church in the main restricted the means to vocal music, for, like them, it felt an antipathy toward instrumental music because of the pagan connotations and worldly aura that went with this medium. Many early Church Fathers felt, as did many Jews, that God could be worshipped only through the human voice.


Jewish Version
Roman Version - II. Tonus
Jewish Version
Roman Version - IV. Tonus (ancient version)
Jewish Version
Roman Version - VI. Tonus
Jewish Version
tr
Roman Version - VIII. Tonus
Jewish Version - Ps. 114 in Easter-time
Roman Version - Tonus Peregrinus

EXAMPLE 1-1. From *New Oxford History of Music 1* (London: Oxford University Press). Used by permission.

Early Christian alterations

In making up that service peculiar to early Christianity and the forerunner of that now known as the Mass (from the "Ite, missa est," its last words), the principal change was the addition of a second portion to an essentially synagogue-derived first part, this latter portion being based upon the Eucharist or Lord's Supper. For the early Church, the Eucharist was the essential part of the Mass, reflecting as it did the spirit of thanksgiving over the giving of bread and wine; in later centuries, other and more far-reaching meanings were attached to its observation. The Eucharist was that area in which specific commands of Christ were to be obeyed and thus was that part of the service that had no connections with the Jewish past, a purely Christian addition. Thus it is that the earliest services began with the remnants of the synagogue ritual, known as the Synaxis or Mass of the Catachumens (Learners); this was followed by the Eucharist or Mass of the Faithful. The first part was conceived as having an educational function and for this reason was open to all, including unbelievers. The second portion, that part peculiar to Christianity, was reserved for the faithful, the pagan and catachumen being excluded. While originally separate ceremonies, the first being carried on in the synagogue, the second in private homes, the combination of the two into one seems to have been fairly widely effected by the third and fourth centuries, with approximately the following scheme:

Synaxis

1. A greeting chanted by the elder, responded to by the congregation.
2. The reading of three Scriptural passages in cantillation, separated by the singing of psalms in a responsorial manner. Originally, the first reading was taken from the Pentateuch and the second from the Prophets as before, but readings from the New Testament were gradually substituted for the latter. The third reading, a Christian addition to the Jewish original, was always from the New Testament. The choice of psalms depended on the content of these lessons.
3. The sermon or sermons, preached by certain priests and the bishop.
4. Dismissal of all those present who were not full-fledged Christians.

Eucharist

1. Prayers of the faithful.
2. Offerings of various kinds placed on the altar, followed by prayers over the gifts by the clergy.
3. Communion, the breaking of the bread and the distribution of the bread and wine, followed by a psalm.
4. A final prayer and dismissal.

With the establishment of this broad outline, the systematic development of the liturgy proceeded rapidly, helped by the recognition of the Church in 313 (the Edict of Milan) by Constantine the Great (b. 288?-337) and his subsequent conversion. Under his reign, the Church came out of its enforced obscurity and began its first great period of church building, in itself an important factor in the regularizing and expanding of the basic pattern already determined. At this time, the congregation still took part in the psalm singing during the service, with the psalms in the Synaxis performed responsorially, those in the Eucharist antiphonally. As the Church grew, however, the performance of music became more and more a province of the priesthood, particularly with the development of the *schola cantorum*, the singing schools that began to be established in the fourth century. Of particular importance in the encouragement and organization of music within that liturgy to become standard in the West was the work of Pope Leo the Great (440-461) and Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), popularly supposed to have composed many of the chants later used; Gregory's role more accurately was that of the codifier and collector. With the enlarged role of music, one may note an increasing difference in the music given to the trained soloist, of greater complexity and difficulty, and that for the choir, usually simpler as befitting their lesser abilities.

By the fourth century the scheme of the Roman Mass, as we know it today, was fairly well stabilized except in matters of detail. No longer preoccupied by a question of overall format, musicians in the service of the Church turned to areas of elaboration and extension. In addition to recognizing the changed conditions of performances, i.e., the presence of professional singers, a constant effort was made to extend the liturgical organization throughout the year, with a goal of providing special forms and formulae for every day and every feast. Beginning with Christmas and Easter as the two great feasts of the Church, extensions were made on both sides of each one, to act as preparations and postludes. In addition, with the rapid growth of special feasts for certain occasions, saints, etc., new musical requirements were made, for each day so added had to be differentiated not only by a specific liturgical content, but also by a more or less individual musical approach. The energies of musicians were almost completely occupied by this task for many centuries, for, although the organizaton of the full church year was nearly complete by the seventh and eighth centuries, the continuing process of sanctification and musical elaboration thereafter continued to call for the creation of particular liturgical and musical complements. Such a process of growth may be seen even today, for, with each new saint, a more or less individual ritual is provided.

In addition to the central ceremony of the Mass, certain other services known as the Hours or Offices developed in early centuries, generally built around readings and singing of psalms and hymns. Two of these, Lauds and Vespers, had their origins in the synagogue, corresponding roughly to the morning and afternoon services held there. A third, Matins, seems to have begun as a vigil in the night before special feasts, a meeting for prayers; Pliny the Younger (62-115?) mentions in one of his letters from around 111 that Christians in Bithynia and Pontus were accustomed to meet before daybreak on Sunday. Like the other services, these Vigils or Nocturnes, as they came to be called from their time of observance, relied for much of their content on psalm singing.

Further evolution of the Hours was a product of the monastic movement, particularly that found in the Near East after the third century; Alexandria seems to have been a particularly active center. While participation of the congregation in all the Hours was originally understood, this brought on many problems, as attested to by the many councils of the Church in the fifth and sixth centuries. With the promulgation of the Benedictine Rule of 529 and the establishment of the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino by St. Benedict of Nursia (480-543), the general place of the Hours became stabilized as monastic, and only Matins and Vespers were retained as services for the Church as a whole; it is for this reason that composers of later centuries concentrated upon those Offices for polyphonic settings.

By the sixth century, the day's services had been standardized as in the following outline; it is this scheme that has remained constant until the present:

Matins (3 Nocturnes)	During the night and its waning
Lauds	At cockcrow (3 A.M.)
Prime	6 A.M.
Terce	9 A.M.
Mass	10 A.M. (sometimes after Sext or None)
Sext	Noon
None	3 P.M.
Vespers	6 P.M.
Compline	At nightfall

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that psalms are a constant component in all of these services, although of varying number and importance within particular ones. Herein lies some of the importance of the synagogue, for it was the source of this element, furnishing not only the texts, but also the general procedures for their musical performance. Of greater moment was the Jewish assumption, accepted completely, that music was an integral part of liturgy, of such importance that it could not be dispensed with.

The place of music in philosophy

The high place of music in the Middle Ages, however, did not rest solely on its importance as a necessary part of liturgy, for music also held an essential position in the philosophy and theology of the period. Not only was it considered as the appropriate medium for addressing God, but it was also understood as a tool by which God and his works could be comprehended and interpreted. Music was thus unique among the arts, for it served as a requisite stage in medieval education, utilizing its physical manifestations as the basis of metaphysical extensions.

Like the liturgy, the medieval system in which music played such an important role took centuries to develop, reaching its high point only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Its early development was slow, principally due to the very nature of early Christianity and early Christians, as well as the social character of the world into which they came. Until the work of St. Paul, as we have already suggested, there was little attempt to spread the new faith outside

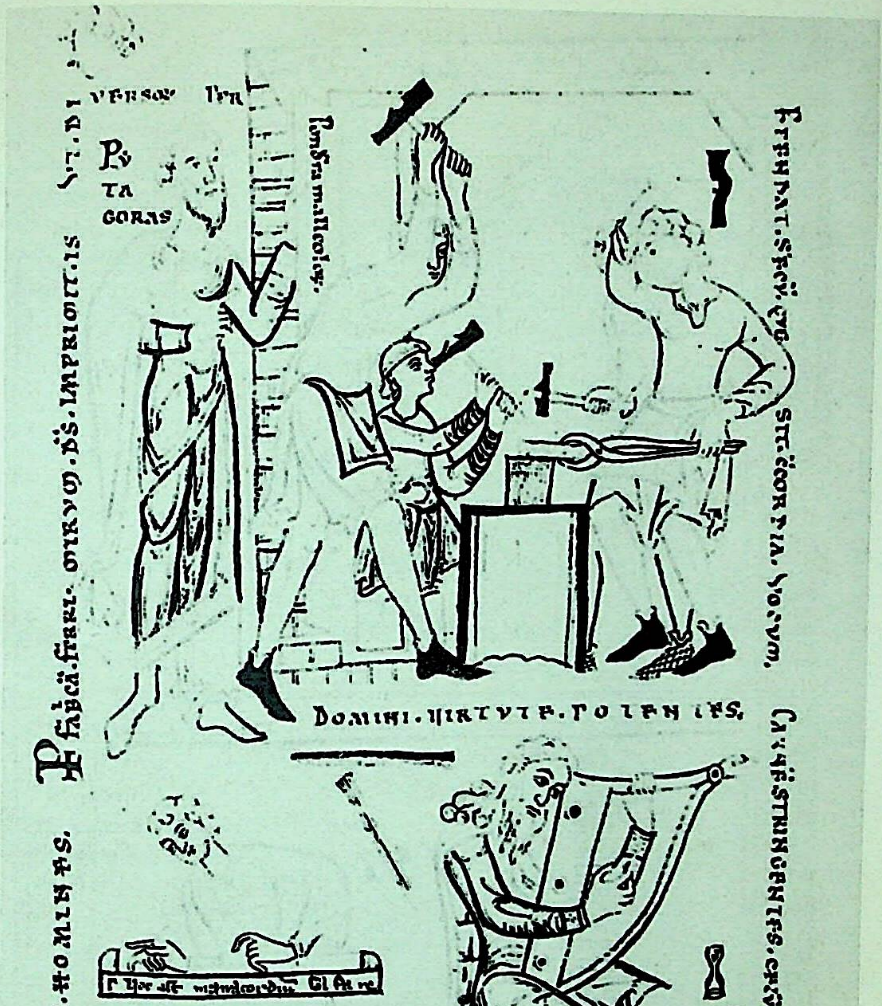
Jewish circles; only after their missionary journeys did the early Christians realize that the world of the Gentile, the non-Jew, might bear more fruit. The pagan society thus approached, however, was not one of high culture or background; it was, on the other hand, one where the most appealing doctrine of the new faith was that of a world of bliss after death, a recompense for the sacrifices and hardships suffered on earth. Drawn from the lower strata, the new group of Christians cared little for the culture of their own society, for it was precisely this that they were attempting to escape by their conversion to the new faith. Thus it is that, in spite of the great achievements of both Greeks and Romans, including their highly developed philosophical systems, there was a natural suspicion that led, in the beginning at least, to an almost complete rejection of all that came from these tainted sources. Greek philosophy, Greek music, and their Roman derivations were filled with connotations that were abhorred by the simple men who spread early Christianity.

The rising importance of Christianity in succeeding centuries brought in a new class of converts, not always convinced so easily through an emotional appeal. Such men needed to be persuaded in terms of logic, to be provided reasonable accommodations with that which they already believed through their pagan past. It is thus that there steadily grew a need for understanding of pagan philosophy, either to refute those points not held by Christian beliefs or to reconcile those approaches held in common. By the fourth century, beginnings had been made at the assimilation of the Classic past, as can be seen in the works of such early Church Fathers as Clementine of Alexandria (150?-215?), Origen (184?-253) and Eusebius (265?-340?), men whose spheres of activity lay in the East.

In the West, the problem was not as simple. Although the universal character of the Roman Empire had made the spread of Christianity easy, its very size and concomitant vulnerability had brought on difficulties of political and social nature that affected strongly the closeness of ties between East and West. Barbarian pressures from the North, continual economic crises, the failure of legitimacy as a principle in the choice of emperors, all led to a situation in which the now top-heavy Roman *imperium* was weakened to such a point that disintegration became a natural consequence. The most obvious sign of this breakdown was the separation of East and West into separate areas, a process begun under Diocletian in the third century as a purely administrative procedure, but made permanent at the death of Theodosius in 395. With this split, which affected all areas of human activity, the West lost almost all contact with the traditions of the East, including familiarity with Greek as a living language; henceforth, acquaintance with Greek philosophical achievements had to be made through Latin intermediaries. With the inroads of the barbarians and the consequent civil confusion, the only organism intent on preserving past cultural achievements became the Church, with monasteries playing the principal role by their seclusion from the world of war and ravagement; even these, however, could do little against the impact of the times of trouble that swept early medieval Europe. By the seventh century, no Greek works were directly known to the West; only pitifully few were available, in Latin translations that often distorted rather than translated.

For Western music, the most important survival of the past was the Roman system of education of which music was a part. This curriculum, not completely described or codified until the time of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (470?-525), was based upon a logical progression from the seven liberal arts as the foundation, followed by the intermediary stage of philosophy, and capped by theology. The basic approach from the liberal arts was divided into two levels, the first, the *trivium* or *artes triviales*, i.e., grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and the *quadrivium* or *artes reales*, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The term "liberal" as used here was taken to mean subjects either suitable for the education of a free man or as studies designed to free him from the domination of the senses. Without passage through the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, no further progress was possible, for it was here the foundations for the higher subjects were laid.

The ideas on the meaning of music within this framework were derived from those of Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, but none of them was at more than second- or third-hand, being transmitted always through intermediaries. Although the major source of attitudes was Plato, his views were not derived directly, but came principally through the commentary made on the *Timaeus* by Chalcidius (early fourth century) and the successors of Plato, the neo-Platonists, whose most important representative was Plotinus (204-269) and whose major Christian promulgator in the West was St. Augustine (354-430). Certain ideas of Pythagoras and



Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 2599, folio 96 verso. At the top is Pythagoras, listening to the sound of the hammers, from which he derived the proportions for the octave, perfect fifth, perfect fourth and whole tone (see p. 20). At the lower right is King David, playing on his harp. At the lower left, Guido of Arezzo is depicted, working out tonal proportions on the monochord, that one-stringed instrument which demonstrated the mathematics of music in sound.

his followers were echoed by Chalcidius, Martianus Cappella (early fifth century), and Macrobius (fifth century); the latter's commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* was a continual source of authority in the later Middle Ages. While all of these men were important as sources for the role of music in medieval philosophy, the outstanding figure was Boethius, for it was his early incomplete treatise, the *De Musica*, that furnished the foundation for later ages; although other writers on music are cited in later works, it is always clear that the essential framework is Boethian and that it is his doctrines that have determined the attitude.

The philosophy of Boethius

In essence, Boethius' work is an attempt to include Pythagorean elements within a reconciliation of neo-Platonic and Aristotelian elements. While following the same neo-Platonism as that of St. Augustine in many ways, he was heavily influenced by the many commentaries and translations of Aristotle that he himself had done. In *De Musica*, his philosophical approach to music is generally neo-Platonic with admixtures of the Pythagorean, while his placing of it within the educational scheme is Aristotelian.

At the root of Boethius' ideas is the concept that music is number made audible. This is illustrated by a legend of Pythagoras, echoed by later writers. It seems that Pythagoras was wandering one day in the forest and, passing by a forge, heard such wonderful harmonies from four hammers beating on anvils that he stopped to investigate. Determining that the sounds were caused by the heads of the hammers, he then weighed them, discovering that their weights were, respectively, 12, 9, 8, and 6 pounds. The sound of the octave was given by the relation of the 12-pound hammer to that of the 6, or 2:1; the perfect fifth resulted from the comparison of that of 12 and that of 8, or of those of 9 and 6, or 3:2, the perfect fourth from that of the 8 and 6, and 12 and 9, or 4:3, and the whole tone from that of 9 and 8. That these sounds were harmonious is explained, according to Pythagoras and his followers, by their numerical ratio, for the simpler the numerical relationship, the more beautiful is the sound. Music demonstrates in sound the pure world of number and derives its beauty from that world.

It is not just music, however, that is beautiful because of its dependence on number, but everything. Hence, all things that are beautiful are subject to the power of number and can be explained by it. The most beautiful thing is God and the world is but a reflection of God's beauty, just as man's beauty is a reflection of that of the world. All of these beauties may then be expressed as forms of numerical ratio, ratio that has been made easily sensed by the ear in music. Thus it is that music stands as a way of depicting the beauty and perfection of God and his creations, the world and man. It is here that music achieves its real place in medieval philosophy, for, as a microcosm in the macrocosm, it can duplicate on a small scale the power of number inherent in the otherwise almost incomprehensible grand expanse about us.

To carry out the implications of this position, Boethius divided music into three levels, *musica instrumentalis*, *musica humana*, and *musica mundana*, three divisions that were to remain immutable for the remainder of the age with but one change, that of *musica mundana* to *musica caelestis*. *Musica instrumentalis*, at the lowest level, is that music which is sounding, both vocal and instrumental. Its primary purpose is the concrete demonstration of the fundamental ratios, a demonstration made clear by the use of a one-stringed instrument, the monochord, on which the ratios could be measured off in physical distances. Those intervals whose ratios were simplest—the octave, perfect fifth, and perfect fourth—were labeled as consonances, all others as dissonances.

On the second level, Boethius placed *musica humana*, "*humana*" being interpreted both physically and spiritually. In the first sense, reference is made to the external symmetry of the body, the balance of our members and their placement; in addition, there is the beauty of our internal organs and their arrangement, as well as the harmony between their functioning and man's well-being. On the other hand, there is also a harmonious relation between the body and the soul, a harmony seen in the health of the body and the functions of the soul, intelligence, love, etc. These relationships are a form of music, for they are, like music, founded on the same numerical laws.

The highest level, that of *musica mundana* or, as it is usually called, "the music of the spheres," is that harmony standing as the foundation of all the world about us, not only that on earth, but that of the stars and planets, as well as heaven itself. It is the regular succession of the seasons, the months, and years; the movements of the heavens; the varying combinations of the four elements (fire, earth, air, and water); and, as a purely Christian addition to Boethius' original definition, the music heard around the throne of God, when the angels sing, "Holy, Holy, Holy." Again, like *musica humana*, *musica mundana* has proportion as a governor and therefore is subject to interpretation as music. The movement of the planets was thought by many medieval philosophers to produce sound, a true "music of the spheres"; that this sound was unheard was due to a lack of sensitivity in men's ears. Others argued that sound was not a part of *musica mundana* by its very nature.

With this scheme in mind, it is easy to understand the medieval definitions of various kinds of musicians, for specific terms were used to indicate specific levels. It was not enough to produce or enjoy music as an aural delight; these men, the *cantores*, knew only the how. The true *musicus* was one who knew the why, the ratios in back of the delight that he obtained; to use Boethius' words, "the musician is he to whom belongs the ability to judge." This clear distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the relative places of the practitioner and theorist, for it explains the high place given to what we would today call a critic and indicates the necessity that the practical manifestations of music be capable of philosophic explanation; *musica instrumentalis* as the lowest of the three levels had to be subject to the speculative insight derived from the other two, all based on the law of number.

The Boethian approach, therefore, divided music into two areas, the first theoretical or speculative, the second practical. This division is clearly reflected in the works of later writers, for each author normally had quite clearly in mind the particular audience to whom his remarks were addressed. The treatise prepared for the student of philosophy and usually known as the *protreptikos* is primarily hortatory, encouraging the student by showing him the necessity of musical study through its classifications and relations to other arts; Boethius' *De Musica* is itself an example. Shorter versions might be inserted into broader treatises, here specifically referring to music's place in philosophy; the sections on music found in larger works by Roger Bacon and St. Thomas Aquinas are cases in point. Finally, there is the direct introduction to the subject (*eisagogé*), organized in a set pattern of topics or *kephalaia*, exploring the field more deeply through definitions, classification, and exploration of the number relationships; the tenth-century *De harmonica institutione* by Regino of Prüm falls into this category.

Like the speculative treatises, the practical ones are also divided by audience, for their complexity may vary greatly in accord with the needs of the reader. At the simplest level, there are works directed toward the singer and designed to help him solve the practical problems arising through his function within the liturgy. Some give little more than simple prescriptions for the performance of plainchant, with aids to the correct ordering of the modes and the chants within each one; as the complexity of music increased, these treatises expanded to the teaching of notation, of polyphony, of rhythm and related subjects. In all of these, little attention is paid to philosophical meaning, for speculative excursions have nothing to do with the main goal, the correct performance of music in liturgy. This type is exemplified in the several treatises of Guido of Arezzo (995?-1050), who remarks at one point that he is omitting many things useful to the philosopher but of little moment for the singer.

Certain philosophic points do occur in some practical treatises, the *kephalaia* mentioned earlier, for a learned audience might well feel such topics of value. In these, the philosophical meanings are used to support practical procedures, with speculative elements as a rational background. Many of these works are quite large, for they attempt to encompass all knowledge of the field, producing in music a *speculum* much as the same type of treatise did in theology. The somewhat shorter type is best seen in the thirteenth-century compilation of many treatises made by Jerome of Moravia, the *Tractatus de Musica*, while the longer encyclopedic approach may be found in the *Speculum musicae* by Jacques de Liège, of the early fourteenth century.

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2

Plainchant

The previous chapter has pointed out that it was only by the third and fourth centuries that a somewhat standard liturgical pattern was achieved by the Christian Church. In spite of general agreement on the outline, many local variations around the central theme continued to develop, due primarily to lack of communication between one area and another, the autonomy of local bishops, and the growth of individual traditions. Music of the liturgy likewise showed a lack of unity, not only for the above reasons but because of the inability to preserve a specific melody unchanged; oral tradition could not prevent alterations over many generations. The final stabilization of plainchant into fixed melodies only came later, with the growth of more or less precise notational techniques. As a result of all these factors, the fourth through the sixth centuries saw the rise of many differing liturgical forms in various areas, all observing the same general plan but with individual characteristics in details of both rites and music.

With increasing unification of the Church under the Bishop of Rome and the latter's eventual assumption of the role of Western spiritual leadership, steady attempts were made to eradicate divergencies in liturgical practice, the goal being conformity to Roman procedures. Naturally, opposition was great and the process of standardization was slow, but, by the eleventh century, the task was accomplished. Certain variations continued to exist here and there in choices of texts and in the music, but not in the basic outline; and even these variations disappeared with the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. Since all the various manners of liturgy cannot be explored in detail, it seems best to restrict our discussion to that of Rome; some mention of the others will be made at the end of this chapter.

Roman liturgy—the Mass

The organization of the liturgical year is founded on two types of feast, represented by the two great events of Christ's life, the Nativity and Easter. The first type, the fixed feast, is one whose place is set upon a specific date such as Christmas, which always falls on December 25. The second is the moveable feast; its date is set by its relation to Easter, also moveable. The year begins with Advent, a preparation for Christmas, moves through the Christmas season, and proceeds to Septuagesima Sunday, itself beginning the pre-Easter period. With Ascension Sunday as a close to Easter, the prelude to Pentecost and its associated feasts is begun, with a transition to Advent at their end.

As the major service of each feast day, the Mass reflects the character of that day by utilizing, in addition to constant elements whose text is unvarying (the Ordinary), certain others whose functions are unchanging but whose texts vary according to the day (the Proper). Within each category some items are intoned to formulae, others to specific melodies; it is this latter group of chants that is of primary importance to the history of music, for it was within them that the talents of performer and composer found their fullest expression. So that comparison may be made between the final plan and the earlier outline as given in the preceding chapter, a listing of all parts of the Roman Mass follows here, indicating the place of each portion as Proper (P) or Ordinary (O) and showing whether sung (S) or intoned (I):

[*Synaxis*]

Introit (PS)
Kyrie (OS)
Gloria (OS)
Collect (PI)
Epistle (PI)
Gradual (PS)
Alleluia or Tract (PS)
Evangelium (PI)
Credo (OS)
Offertory (PS)
Secret (PI)

[*Eucharist*]

Preface (PI)
Sanctus (OS)
Canon (OI)
Agnus Dei (OS)
Communion (PS)
Post-Communion (PI)
Ite missa est *or* Benedicamus Domino (OS)

It will be noted that the earlier division between the two parts of the Mass is no longer in exactly the same place; this seems to have come about in part through the loss of the teaching function of the Synaxis. All attending Mass were now Christians.

In view of the specific nature of the Proper chants, their place within the liturgy is higher than that of the Ordinaries; indeed, the latter entered the Mass at a later period and even now are not as necessary, for the Gloria and Credo are omitted in certain seasons. The two categories also differ in their musical character, for the Proper chants, designed originally for a trained choir or schooled soloists, are more elaborate than those of the Ordinary, which were intended in the beginning for the congregation or officiating clergy; with the taking over of the Ordinary chants by the choir this difference gradually became less obvious. Finally, the texts of the Proper are normally Biblical, most of them being based on the Psalms, while those of the Ordinary lie outside that source.

Early performance of the Proper divided its chants into two types, those sung antiphonally—Introit, Offertory, and Communion—and those sung responsorially—Gradual and Alleluia. Of these, the Introit (its name from its function as an opening) is today nearest to its original manner; its form is now that of an opening antiphon, a Psalm verse, the Gloria Patri (Lesser Doxology), and a repetition of the antiphon. In earlier times, the antiphon acted as a refrain between many Psalm verses, one half of the choir replying to the other half; today only one Psalm verse remains and the antiphon has been reduced to a frame for it. As with the other antiphonal chants, performance today is responsorial, the choir replying to one or more cantors. In the Offertory and Communion, the only remnant is the antiphon that originally introduced the Psalm; all the verses have been dropped.

As a responsorial chant, with alternation between a trained soloist and the choir, the Gradual (its name from the steps where it was performed, the *gradus*) is musically more elaborate, although, like the antiphonal chants, it has been much curtailed from its earliest forms. Today, the opening respond is begun by the soloist and concluded by the choir; the following Psalm verse is similarly divided. At the end, there is a return to the opening respond, sung as before. The Alleluia is performed in much the same manner, except that in the opening respond the choir does not pick up only the last part (the *jubilus* on -ia) but repeats from the beginning. In both of these, there were originally many Psalm verses, but today only one remains.

During liturgical periods of mourning, the Alleluia is replaced by the Tract, one of the last remnants of direct psalmody left in the service. It normally contains three or four Psalm verses, although some may be much longer, as in *Qui habitat* (for the First Sunday of Lent), which includes all of Psalm 90. In view of its character, it has less musical individuality than the other chants mentioned, for it is restricted to a number of formulae, used in various combinations, as well as utilizing only two of the eight modes, Modes II and VIII (to be discussed presently).

Although the texts of the various Ordinaries are invariable, the effort to differentiate between feasts of varying importance has led to an organization much like that of the Propers, whereby certain Ordinary chants are indicated as of particular suitability for certain occasions. Five parts of the Ordinary, the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, and Ite missa est or Benedicamus, appear in present-day chant books in eighteen organized groups (Masses I-XVIII), each labeled with its particular affinity, i.e., Paschal (Easter) Time, Solemn Feasts, Feasts of the Blessed Virgin, etc. In addition, there are "ad libitum" chants for each section, so that, by making substitutions and variations, the needs of a particular occasion may be met. The Credo, because of its late appearance and lack of fixed place in the liturgy, is not part of these groupings. The six chants used with this text are given in a separate place in chant books and carry no designation by occasion.

Although the Ordinary chants were originally congregational, the introduction of trained singers began, as we have said, a process of musical elaboration that led to both increased formal and musical complexity. In the Kyrie, for example, the text is a triple statement of the words "Kyrie eleison" ("Lord, have mercy"), followed by another triple statement of "Christe eleison" ("Christ, have mercy"), and concluded by another triple statement of "Kyrie eleison." At its simplest, this could easily be reflected musically by two melodies, repeated in the fashion AAA BBB AAA; curiously, only one Kyrie does this, that of Mass V. All the rest show the musician's talent for elaboration, for they range in formal complication from an AAA BBB CCC form (Mass VII) to ABA CDC EFE (Mass III). Much the same situation can be observed in the Agnus Dei, where one finds a simple triple repetition, AAA (Mass V), as well as a slightly more intricate ABA (Mass II) or ABC (Mass XI).

Performance of the Ordinaries is not strict as to antiphonal or responsorial manners, for either procedure may be followed. Alternation is the guiding principle, either between cantors and choir or between halves of the choir. In the Kyrie, for example, there may be alternation section by section, with the closing Kyrie ended by all; or alternation may exist within a section. The same procedure is followed with the Gloria, Credo, and Agnus; the Sanctus is performed by the whole choir, with an interruption at the Benedictus for the Elevation. The beginnings of the Gloria, Credo, and Ite or Benedicamus are unusual in that, unlike any of the other chants, they are intoned by the officiating priest, not by cantors or choir.

Roman liturgy—the Hours

The Hours, or Offices as they are sometimes called (not Office Hours!), are divided into two groups, the Greater–Matins, Lauds, Vespers, and Compline–and the Lesser–Prime, Terce, Sext, and

None. All eight begin musically with the Psalm verse, "Deus in adjutorium" ("Make haste, O God"), from Psalm 69, responded to by the second half of the verse and a Doxology. At the end comes a short "alleluia," except in Paschal Time, when "Laus tibi" ("Praise to Thee") is substituted.

Like all the Hours, Matins is primarily built around the singing of Psalms. After the opening, there is an Invitatory, with an antiphon acting as a refrain in the reciting of Psalm 94; this is then followed by a hymn, chosen in accord with the feast or season. The main part of Matins is made up of three Nocturnes, each including three Psalms with framing antiphon and three read lessons. Each lesson is responded to by a Responsory, generally of considerable length and including as one of its verses the Doxology; in form the Responsory is much like the Gradual, save that part of the opening respond is inserted between the verse and the Doxology. In all, there are normally nine Psalms and nine Lessons; there may be, on special occasions, a "Te Deum" ("We praise Thee") at the end, either as an addition to or replacement for the final lesson. Of particular musical importance are the Responsories, for, in the Middle Ages and after, they were the inspiration for polyphonic settings. Also of interest is the fact that the Invitatory is an example of early antiphonal performance, where the opening antiphon is repeated after each Psalm verse, not in the later framing manner.

Lauds and Vespers are basically similar in plan, being built around the singing of five Psalms, each with its own framing antiphon. A short lesson (Chapter) is read, followed by a hymn. There are then a verse and short response, leading into the singing of a Canticle, treated like a Psalm and with framing antiphon. The Canticle for Lauds is "Benedictus Dominus Deus" ("Blessed be the Lord God"), the Canticle of Zachary, while that for Vespers is the "Magnificat" ("May the Lord magnify my soul"), the Canticle of the Blessed Virgin. Vespers closes at this point, but Lauds adds as an ending one of the four Marian Anthems (or Antiphons) appropriate to the season; these four are "Alma Redemptor Mater" ("Sweet Mother of the Redeemer"), "Ave Regina caelorum" ("Hail, Queen of Heaven"), "Regina caeli" ("Queen of Heaven"), and "Salve, Regina" ("Hail, O Queen"). These anthems are medieval additions, the result of the rise of the Marian cult; like the Canticles, they received later polyphonic settings.

Compline, the simplest of the Greater Hours, includes but three

Psalms and one antiphon that frames all three. They are followed by a hymn, a Chapter with short Responsory and a Canticle, the "Nunc Dimittis" ("Now let Thy servant") or Canticle of Simeon, performed with antiphon as in Lauds and Vespers. The service closes musically with the appropriate Marian Anthem.

The Lesser Hours all have the same structure, a simple one suggesting their late introduction. Beginning with a hymn, they continue with three Psalms, all three using the same antiphon as a frame. There is also a Chapter with Short Responsory, together with a closing verse and respond. If Mass does not follow at Terce, the seasonal Marian Anthem is added to that service.

Roman liturgy—other services

Standing outside the regular daily services, those determined either by their relation to Christmas or Easter, are certain special Masses, Votive and occasional, together with the Mass for the Dead. Votive Masses are generally intercessive in character and are usually celebrated only on those days when no other major feast takes precedence; their shape is the same as that given earlier. The same is true for certain occasional Masses, i.e., the Nuptial Mass and the Mass to Beg for Peace.

Of greater interest is the Requiem or Mass for the Dead, which takes its name from the opening words of its Introit, "Requiem aeternam dona eis" ("Give them eternal rest"). Its form is that of the normal Mass, the Gloria and Credo being omitted; its other Ordinary chants, however, are peculiar to it and are used nowhere else. Its most individual feature is the Absolution which may follow, containing a highly elaborate Responsory, "Libera me" ("Free me"), as well as the Canticle of Zachary with framing antiphon. The Requiem seems to have been the last major service to resist the unifying efforts of Rome, for the version as we find it today was generally accepted by the Church only with the Council of Trent.

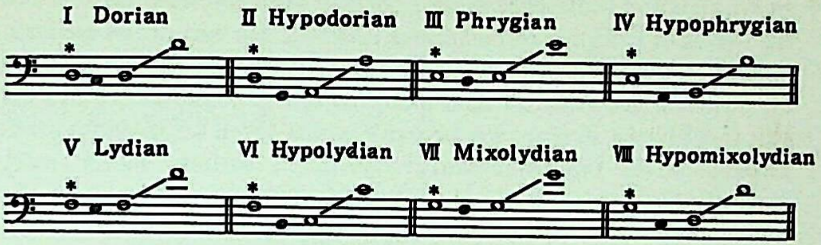
Liturgical sources

The material of the Mass and the Hours is found in four volumes that are basic for the performance of the services. The texts of the various Ordinaries and Propers of the Mass are given in the Missal, while the music for this service is printed in the Graduale. The components of the Hours are similarly divided, the texts appearing in the Breviary, normally split into four volumes by the seasons of the year, the music given in the Antiphonale. These last do not include the material of Matins, which is still in process of revision. For the benefit of smaller churches, a one-volume compendium has been prepared, the Liber Usualis [*LU*], which includes those parts from all four books that might be performed in such churches, plus Matins for the great feasts.

Special collections of chants have been made, such as the Vesperale, containing material for Vespers and Compline, and the Kyriale, including Mass Ordinaries. In the Middle Ages, one may encounter volumes of chants later suppressed by the Council of Trent, the Sequentiary and Tropary, as well as others grouping chants by their musical mode, not by function, such as the Tonarius.

Musical characteristics

The systematic arrangement of a series of whole steps and half steps with reference to a tonal center is known in plainchant as a mode, in much the same way as later patterns are known as major and minor scales. Modes can perhaps be best understood by reference to a piano keyboard, that is, if we can imagine such a keyboard as we would have with the removal of all black keys except B flat and with a range of from G to e''; these limits of range for all music are those established by the great theorist, Guido of Arezzo (990?-1050?). If we begin on d, play the white keys consecutively to d' and then return to the starting d, we will have sounded the Dorian or First Mode. This mode we call authentic, with its range (*ambitus*) extending from final (*finalis*) to final; one note below the lower final may sometimes appear. If we begin on A, rise to a and return to d, we have the Hypodorian or Second Mode, whose range is from a fourth below the final to a fifth above; such a mode, with its final in the middle of the range, is labeled as plagal. As with the authentic mode, one tone below the "lowest" may be used. The other six modes are constructed in exactly the same way, beginning one step higher for each succeeding pair; the following example shows all eight, together with their names and numbers; the *finales* have been marked with an asterisk, with the added note, the *subfinalis*, given as a stemless black note.



EXAMPLE 2-1.

The names of the modes, although implying Greek origins, in actuality have no relation to the modes established by Greek theorists, except that Christian writers adopted these terms under a series of misapprehensions; the Church itself refers to each mode by number, not by name.

One may well ask here why it might not be possible to build further modes upon succeeding tones, that is, on a, b, and c′. This possibility was broached by later theorists, principally by Glarean in his *Dodecachordon* of 1552, using the names Aeolian and Hypoaeolian for Modes IX and X (on a) and Ionian and Hypoionian for Modes XI and XII (on c′); modern theorists describe a pair of modes on b (the Locrian and Hypolocrian), something never mentioned in the Middle Ages or Renaissance. They were not then considered as a valid pair because of the inevitable emphasis on the diminished fifth-augmented fourth, b-f and vice versa. Actually, the Aeolian and Ionian pairs are superfluous, since the substitution of a B flat for B natural in the First and Second Modes gives the same pattern of whole steps and half steps found in the Aeolian-Hypoaeolian, and in the Fifth and Sixth that of the Ionian-Hypoionian. Even when the B flat is used in a way to suggest the general shape of either the Aeolian or Ionian pair, the designation in chant books is that of the appropriate one of the basic eight modes; a good example is "In sole posuit" ("He placed in the sun"), the Gradual for Saturday in Ember Week. Here (*LU*, 344-345), the mode is given as Hypodorian, although the final is a and the range e-f′; evidently the mode is not Hypoaeolian, but a transposed Hypodorian.

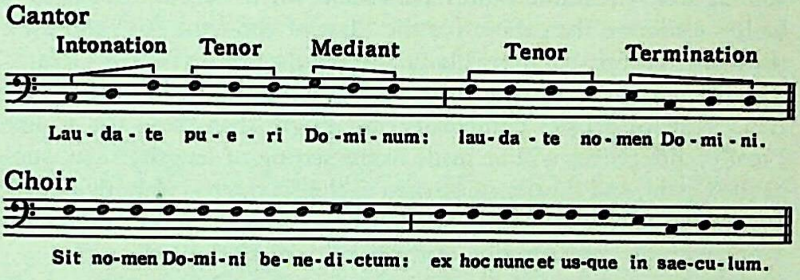
The use of B flat is not solely to allow for the transposition of modes, but also to avoid melodic difficulties caused by the tritone. The most obvious employment is that found in lines leading up from an F to a B and back; here B flat normally replaces the B natural. No hard and fast rules can be laid down, however, for exceptions are both numerous and inconsistent. Much space was given to the problem by medieval theorists, all attempting to set up some sort of system that would help. Perhaps the best rule is that given by an anonymous theorist of the twelfth century: "Where a melody sounds most harsh, B flat is stealthily inserted instead of B natural to temper the tritone, but, where the melody returns to its normal nature, it should be removed." Any generality beyond this is sure to meet with contradictions.

Plainchant melodies and formulae have many shapes, from the simplest intonations to the most elaborate musical expressions, all carefully tied to the function of enhancement of the services and in accord with the particular needs of the corresponding liturgical act. The most uncomplicated of these settings are those used in the intoning of the Prayers and Lessons of the Mass, and are known as the Common Tones. These are essentially recitations upon a single or reciting tone, with slight rises and falls in accord with the normal variations of pitch found in reading the same text; these variations go no further than a third below or a second above the reciting tone and usually fall near the end of phrases. There is little musical individuality in these intonations, for the clear recitation of text is all-important; musical complication is neither desired nor possible.

The formulae used for the chanting of the Psalms, the Psalm Tones, are somewhat more complicated, for, although their essence is that of recitation, they are not intoned by the celebrant, but by the choir, after an opening verse sung by a soloist to establish pitch. This opening intonation is often a rise to the reciting tone or tenor, with short changing-tone patterns at the end of each half line (mediant) and full line (termination) to emphasize the breaks in thought; succeeding verses do not repeat the opening phrase but begin immediately on the tenor. The tenors or reciting tones follow the general rule that, in authentic modes, the tenor is the fifth above the final and, in plagal, the third; where this would cause the tenor to fall on b, it is shifted a half step higher to c′. The tenor of Mode IV (Hypophrygian) is the only exception; its tenor is a. Thus we have the following:

I	Dorian	a	V	Lydian	c′
II	Hypodorian	f	VI	Hypolydian	a
III	Phrygian	c′	VII	Mixolydian	d′
IV	Hypophrygian	a	VIII	Hypomixolydian	c′

We may see all these elements in the following example, the opening of Psalm 112, "Laudate pueri" ("Praise, O Youth"), as sung to the formulae for Mode II:


Cantor
Intonation
Tenor
Mediant
Tenor
Termination
Lau - da - te pu - e - ri Do - mi - num: lau - da - te no - men Do - mi - ni.
Choir
Sit no-men Do-mi-ni be-ne-di-ctum: ex hoc nunc et us-que in sae-cu-lum.

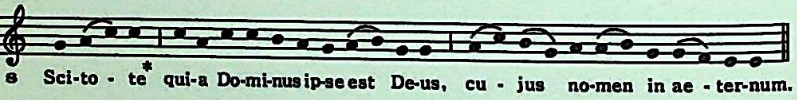
EXAMPLE 2-2.

We have noted earlier that these psalms are performed with framing antiphons, more or less elaborate according to the service or feast. Since these antiphons appear in many modes, the choice of Psalm Tone depends on the mode of the antiphon; if the antiphon required is in Mode I, for example, the psalm used will be chanted in the formulae of that mode. In addition, there must be a smooth transition from the closing of the psalm and the "Gloria Patri" used as the last verses to the beginning of the antiphon, now repeated as a coda. To make this possible many terminations are given in certain modes, designed to lead gracefully back into the antiphon; Mode I, for example, has ten of these.

The same approach may be seen in the formulae for the psalm verse and "Gloria Patri" used in the Introit. Melodies for each of the eight modes are provided, the mode of the opening antiphon determining that of the framed material; one should note that this is a set of special Psalm Tones, not the same as those used in intonation within the Hours. These are, by their place in the Mass, required to be somewhat more elaborate, although, as in the Psalm Tones of the Hours, the major emphasis is upon the tenor. In addition, there are alternative endings to the "Gloria Patri," to make a smooth return to the beginning of the antiphon. The appropriate ending or difference (*differentia*) is specified by the music over the vowels EUOUAE, from "*seculorum. Amen*," the closing words of the "Gloria Patri."

The other chants of the liturgy, those which can be considered as composed, generally derive their nature from the importance of the particular liturgical act that they accompany, the nature of the service, the importance of the particular feast, and the character of the text. Chants accompanying certain parts of the Mass, such as Communion, cannot be too long, for the celebrant cannot be kept waiting until the music is finished. Chants for the Hours will tend to be less elaborate than those for the Mass of the same day; those for the Lesser Hours will normally be simpler than those for the Greater. The celebration of a major feast, such as Christmas, will usually contain chants of greater complexity and length than those for a saint. Finally, differences will be made in the setting of lengthy texts, such as the Credo, and shorter ones, such as the Kyrie; too elaborate music for a long text will take too much time. The composer could not work without consideration of the balance of all these elements.

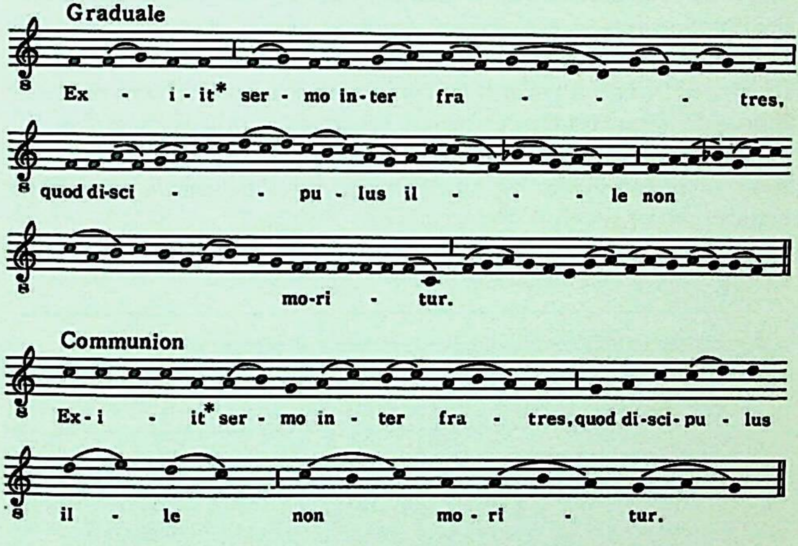
As an instance of the beauty found in the realization of even the simplest of demands and as evidence of the composer's ability to achieve an artistic result within functional necessity, let us examine the Antiphon, "Scitote" ("Know thou"), from Terce for the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus:


8
Sci-to - te* qui-a Do-mi-nus ip-se est De-us, cu - jus no-men in ae - ter-num.

EXAMPLE 2-3.

This antiphon is evidently in Mode III, for its opening phrase, the material to the asterisk, reproduces the opening of the Psalm Tone in that mode; this much is normally all of the antiphon sung at the beginning. Here, the direct imitation of what is to follow in the intonation makes the transition smooth, for the rise to the reciting tone sets what is to follow. Within the complete antiphon as performed at the close, there is the obvious intent of securing a graceful descent from this tenor to the final. There is a steady fall in the second part, culminating in the repetitions of the opening g at "Deus," a half cadence so to speak; after, there is a short rise, with steady descent to the closing e. Of great effect is the emphasis in the first part on syllabic treatment, with the use of a two-note figure on "est" to stress the resting point; the conclusive nature of the latter part is assisted by the insertion of several of these two-note units at the beginning of the section, with another just before the final helping to establish a sense of completeness. The effort to make the antiphon a significant introduction and satisfying close to the psalm recitation is evident throughout.

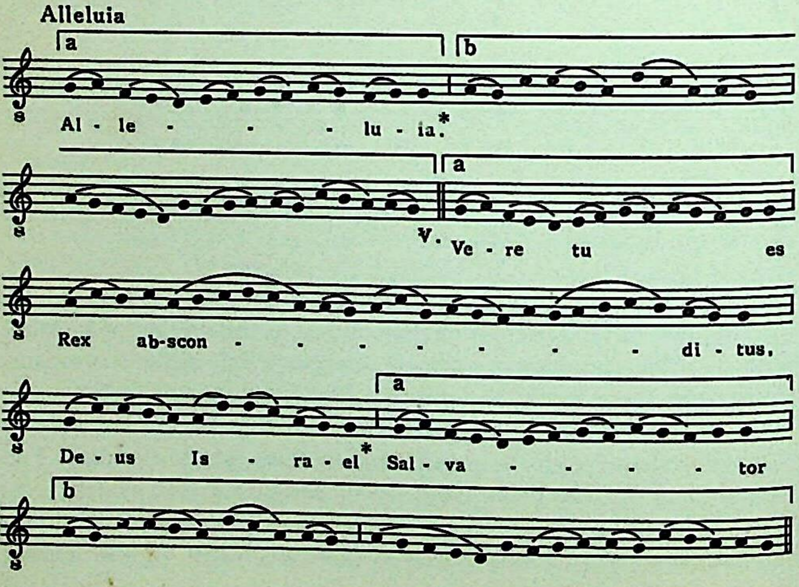
As indicative of the distinctions made on the basis of function, comparison between two settings of the same text is revealing. A particularly good example is the pair of chants, "Exiit sermo" ("The message has been delivered"), the first the Respond of the Gradual, the second the opening of the Communion for St. John (December 27):


Graduale
Ex - i - it* ser - mo in-ter fra - - - tres,
quod di-sci - - pu - lus il - - - le non
mo-ri - tur.
Communion
Ex-i - it* ser - mo in - ter fra - tres, quod di-sci-pu - lus
il - le non mo - ri - tur.

EXAMPLE 2-4.

In view of the function of the Gradual as the singing of a psalm, with no other simultaneous act, the composer felt himself comparatively free. As a result, the chant is highly melismatic, with many notes to some syllables, and with evident effort to build a melody that will reflect the almost purely musical status of the Gradual. The Communion, on the other hand, accompanying a task of the celebrant, is by necessity of more restricted character, with a minimum of *melismata* and an almost purely syllabic treatment. In both chants we find a line that rises to a peak at about the middle, but the duration of rise to and fall from this climax is conditioned by liturgical circumstances, not by the wishes of the composer. Comparison of the two settings of "non moritur" points up the divergent demands, for, in the Gradual, this lengthy closing is governed by the evident desire of the composer to emphasize the meaning, "he will not die," by giving it added musical importance. In the Communion, the need to coordinate the chant with the actions of the celebrant leads to a condensation that, while effective, is of lesser musical interest.

Of all the chants, the Alleluia is that most apt for the fullest musical expression. To medieval writers, it was an overpowering expression of the ecstasy of the spirit, a joy that could not be restricted to words; it thus occupied a peculiar place in the liturgy, for it carried implications of catharsis, a cleansing of the soul. This catharsis was not the result of the text but was derived from the music and its effects. Although a psalm verse is included, it too reflects the same approach, often repeating melodic fragments already heard in the Alleluia proper. As an example, we give the Alleluia "Vere tu es Rex" ("Indeed, Thou art the King"), for the Feast of the Holy Family:


Alleluia
a
b
Al - le - - - lu - ia.*
a
℣. Ve - re tu es
Rex ab-scon - - - - - - - di - tus,
a
De - us Is - ra - el* Sal - va - - - - tor
b

EXAMPLE 2-5.

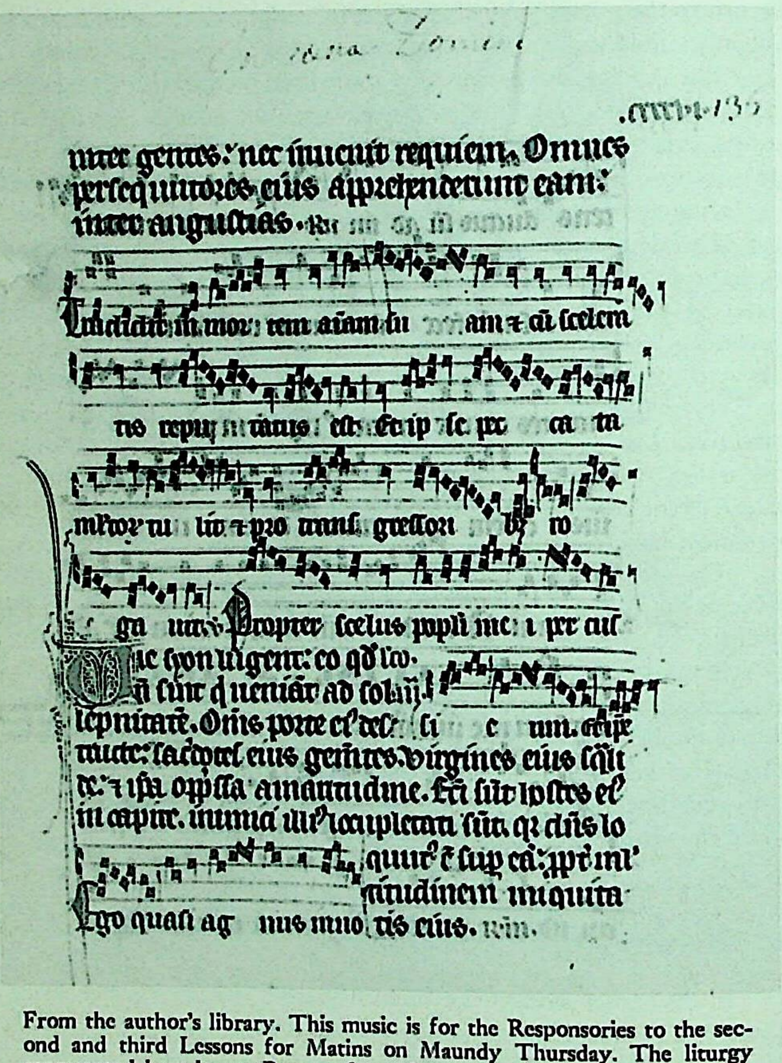
In performance, the opening to the asterisk is sung by a soloist, this then being repeated by the choir and continued to the verse; the latter part, from the asterisk on, is called the *jubilus*, and was to be of importance in the development of the type of chant called the sequence, as we shall see. The verse is then sung by the soloist to the asterisk, where the choir enters and completes it. There is then a return to the opening Alleluia, again soloistic, with the choir reëntering at the jubilus; the choir does not repeat the opening Alleluia.

The Alleluia here is divided into three phrases, each ending on the final (Mode VIII), but each time more extended in length and in range, expanding almost like an opening flower. The first phrase is a preparation, firmly setting the modality, with the second and third exploring the melodic possibilities. A major organizing factor is the use of a falling three-note figure that serves almost as a generator of melodic movement. The verse, in two broad sections, is closely related to the Alleluia, repeating the opening and closing phrases, marked *a* and *b* in the example. The intermediate section of the verse, the new material, similarly works with the falling three-note motive, giving a total unification to the chant that is both subtle and effective. Just as the second phrase of the Alleluia made its close inevitable, so does the new material of the verse make the repeated music of the Alleluia satisfying. Musical form and content are here in complete balance.

The artistry of the musicians of the early church rests on their solutions to the problem of balance between the claims of music and liturgy. Their ability to understand the demands of the function in which music played such a large part and to produce music that achieved its goal without sacrifice of musical value gave the West a secure foundation on which to base more elaborate musical structures. By their very success in merging liturgical function and musical accompaniment, we cannot think of the one without the other. Here the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

Notation

In the earlier days of the Church there was little need to worry about the problems of notation, for neither the complexity of the service nor its music was so great as to require that the various melodies or formulae be preserved in written form; comparatively few in number, they could be easily passed on through an oral tradition. With the Church's emergence and the rapid development of a highly organized liturgy, the problem grew more and more pressing, particularly when combined with the Roman rite's zeal to impress its

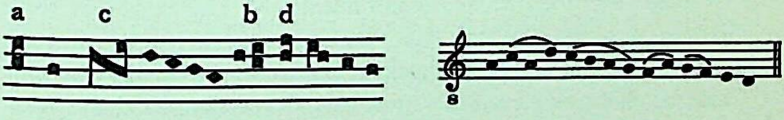

inter gentes: nec invenit requiem. Omnes
persequutores eius apprehenderunt eam:
inter angustias.

From the author's library. This music is for the Responsories to the second and third Lessons for Matins on Maundy Thursday. The liturgy represented here is non-Roman, from the north of France.

procedures on all parts of the West. In taking chants from one area to another, some form of written notation became an absolute necessity. Although primary sources are lacking, it seems that the sixth century saw the first attempts to add some kinds of symbols to liturgical texts, indicating in a general way the course of the accompanying chant.

Many experiments took place in the ensuing three centuries, ranging from the use of specific letters or letter-like symbols for each note to the use of accent-signs taken over from those used in the teaching of oratory. There were, however, serious disadvantages in nearly all these systems, either because of an inability to know exactly the intervals specified or because of basic conflicts with the character of the chant; if one thinks of the essential nature of chant as melismatic, with groupings of notes more important than individual ones, it is obvious that a letter notation concentrating on separate tones would be more of a hindrance than a help.

The final solution, one achieved in its broad outlines by the ninth century and universally adopted in the centuries that followed, is based on the use of two lines as reference points, the first, originally in red, to show the place of f, the second, in yellow or green, to indicate c′. The addition of other lines between and above or below, with the introduction of a clef, led directly to our modern system; chant notation, however, because of the restricted range of its melodies, has never used more than four lines in its staff. While many older sources attribute the development of this to Guido of Arezzo, more modern research has shown that his role was more that of a codifier and improver of a system already in a high stage of development. We give here a short excerpt in neumatic notation, with transcription into modern form, to illustrate the method:



EXAMPLE 2-6.

In the example, the symbols at *a* and *b* are clef signs, the first indicating c′, the second f. At *c* and *d* we have examples of groupings, in which one figure stands for two or more notes. In reading obliques, one takes the first note from the point of its beginning, the second from its end. In cases such as at *d*, the bottom note is always read first. Comparison of the original and the transcription will make the principles clear.

The reader will have noted that nothing has been said about rhythm, for all our examples have implied that the notes are of equal value. In this lies one of the thorniest problems of plainchant, since we do not at present know specifically whether or not early chant had rhythmic variations and, if so, what kind. There is evidence that rhythmic distinctions may have been made in early chant books, but most of our sources come from after the ninth century, a period when these distinctions had begun to disappear from notated chants. The principal school of thought today, one accepted as standard by the Church, is that of scholars at the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes, where the notes are of equal time value but with groups of two and three taken as units of pulse. Historically, the Solesmes' procedure cannot be justified but it does lead to musically valid results. Other scholars have put forth schemes in which the notes are of varying length, but here again many of their results are open to debate. The problem is, at present, incapable of final solution, for there are too many unanswered contradictions in the sources.

Non-Roman rites

We have noted earlier that the early liturgical situation in the West was one of great diversity and that only after many centuries was the Roman rite universal. The three major areas of divergence from Roman procedures were in Spain, France, and Northern Italy. In each of these, particular procedures and chants developed that were indicative of local attitudes and influences. The earliest of these to disappear was the Gallican rite, that of France, primarily through the efforts of Pepin and Charlemagne; nevertheless, certain elements of Gallican chant, such as the "Improperia" for Good Friday, were taken over by the Roman liturgy. Today, all trace of the Gallican original chants is gone, for we have no sources from that time.

The Mozarabic rite, that of Spain, generally disappeared around the eleventh century, although by special permission it is in use today in certain churches of Toledo. The music is, however, not a true reflection of the original, for, although many of the older sources have been preserved, their notation cannot be read accurately today.

Around Milan, the Ambrosian rite has long flourished and is still in use. In general, its music is of more elaborate character than its Roman counterpart. It once was thought that Ambrosian chant represents an earlier stage in the history of chant, before the revisions of Popes Leo the Great and Gregory the Great; modern research indicates that the opposite is probably more true. Efforts to suppress this rite were never successful, perhaps through the importance of St. Ambrose (333-397) and his position as the legendary founder of the liturgical format.

Other minor variants have existed, most of them of purely local importance and without great influence. Of these, the most interesting is the Sarum rite, stemming from Salisbury in England and in use throughout Britain by the fifteenth century. Its particular musical importance rests on its use of certain chants later employed by Continental composers, as in the "Caput" masses of Dufay, Okeghem, and Obrecht, plus its liturgy for the Requiem, one followed by most Northern composers of polyphonic settings until the Council of Trent.

Bibliography

In addition to certain sources already named at the end of Chapter 1, there are the many chant books published by Desclée & Co., Tournai, the authorized editors of the revisions made by the Benedictines of Solesmes; these include the *Liber Usualis* (1934), the *Graduale Romanum* (1938), and the *Antiphonale Romanum* (1924). Of special importance are the "Rules for Interpretation" given in the *LU*, pp. xvii-xxix, where the fundamentals of the Solesmes' performance system are exposed. For studies of Gregorian chant, the many works of Peter Wagner are outstanding, as are the commentaries added to the various volumes of the series of facsimiles edited by the monks of Solesmes, the *Paléographie musicale* (1889-). Apel's *Gregorian Chant* has already been mentioned; his "The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant" in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society, IX* (1956), must not be overlooked.

For the history of plainchant notation, Carl Parrish's *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1957) is useful; the most extensive study is that of Dom Gregori Sunyol, *Introducció a la Paleografia Musical Gregoriana* (Montserrat: Abadia de Montserrat, 1925). Higini

Anglés is also an important authority for this subject as well as for the history of non-Roman rites; his two articles in the *New Oxford History of Music*, II, should be consulted.

An *Antiphonale Missarum juxta Ritum Sanctae Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Ambrosian rite) is published by Desclée (1935). For the Sarum rite, W. H. Frere is the major authority; his various works, including facsimiles of both a *Graduale* (1894) and an *Antiphonale* (1901-1925), are essential.

3

Accretions to the Liturgy

In examining the liturgical make-up of the Mass and the Hours, one's first impression (a correct one) is that both areas have drawn primarily on Biblical sources for their texts. The emphasis on psalm singing, the intonation of lessons from both the Old and New Testaments, the stress on the Bible as a source for most of the material used within these services is clear. Those portions not Biblical in origin—the Ordinary of the Mass, for example—were not originally of the same importance or interest; we have already noted the subsidiary place of the Credo, which was not obligatory in the Roman rite until after the twelfth century.

This strong reliance on the Bible was not unconscious, for the

Church early realized the necessity to discourage a subjectiveness inherent in the introduction of non-Biblical material. Although texts not drawing on the Bible were used in the earliest days of Christianity, mostly in the Eucharist, the growing Church rapidly suppressed them, acknowledging them as sources of possible deviation and heresy. The more solid the organization of the Church became, the greater was the official opposition to the introduction of non-Biblical writings.

Under pressure, such opposition could not and did not stand. For various reasons, to be explored in this chapter, non-Biblical accretions were slowly added to the basic liturgy, accretions more or less rapidly accepted and even at times encouraged by the Church. As a new outlet for the talents of poets and musicians, their vogue was great in the Middle Ages, so great that by the sixteenth century the Council of Trent felt that the essential focus of the liturgy had been obscured; many of the elaborations had to be trimmed away if the meaning of the services was to remain clear. During medieval times, however, these additions—the hymn, the trope and sequence, the liturgical drama, the conductus—attracted the attention of gifted men of poetry and music, for it was in them that these men could find a freedom of expression not always possible within the functional limitations of that which had already been established.

The hymn

Of all the various liturgical accretions, the hymn is the oldest, for, as we have pointed out, it was part of the original Eucharist, non-Biblical in background, and partook of that same ecstatic emotion that was the source of the Alleluia. Because of its subjectiveness and individualism, it easily led into heresy, encouraging divisions and sectarianism, as can be seen particularly in the hymns written by the Eastern Gnostics, with Bardaisan (second century) as the leading spirit of the movement. These hymns, texts using popular melodies and folk-tunes, were designed to teach religious doctrine and were polemic in nature. As a weapon against established dogma, their influence was great, calling for immediate reaction by the orthodox, one which grew rapidly after the third century.

With St. Ephraem (d. 379), the Church found its first great hymn writer. Like Bardaisan, St. Ephraem wrote in Syriac and, again like Bardaisan, used the hymn as a means of advancing certain viewpoints, but in support of the Church and not in opposition. Ephraem's major work is the *Madhrasa*, made up of poems against heretics, Bardaisan, and the Arians; songs of non-polemic nature on Christian moralities; and hymns of some liturgic connection. Many of these were incorporated into the monastic services that later grew into the Hours, thus defining a certain position for these compositions. As before, Ephraem relied for his music on popular melodies, insuring that the message of his texts would more easily be absorbed by the singer.

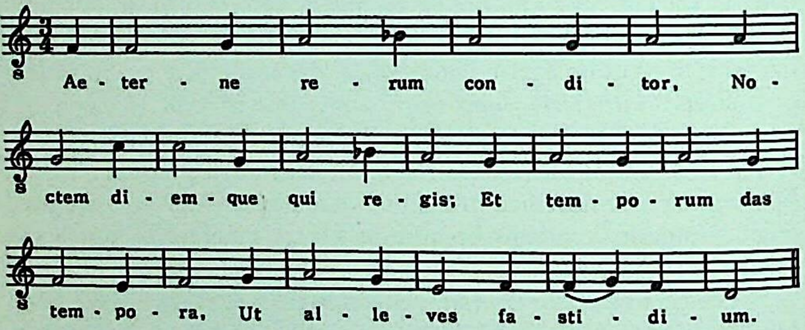
Seeing the dangers in the spread of heresy through these easily sung and easily remembered compositions, the Western Church did its best to bar hymns from its rites; the Council of Laodicea, for example, around 361 banned them completely. However, such efforts were of little effect, for the popular character of the melodies to which heretical texts had been set and the insidious nature of the heresies themselves could not be fought by ignoring them.

The realization that the Latin hymn could defend orthodoxy in the same way as its Syriac counterpart was made first by St. Hilary of Poitiers (310?-366), who spent some time in exile in Syria and who may possibly have had personal contact with Ephraem. On his return to Gaul, he introduced the hymn there as a polemic weapon, fighting the Arianism then strong in Arles; none of his works achieved great popularity, perhaps because of Hilary's failure to touch the masses.

The true father of the Catholic hymn is St. Ambrose (340?-397), for it is his work that established the model for future generations. Like Hilary, Ambrose's major goal was the combating of heresy. His success was complete; sung congregationally, his hymns immediately became popular and soon were absorbed into the liturgy, not only that of Milan, Ambrose's bishopric, but also that of other areas. Eighteen hymns now are believed to be his, but only four, named by St. Augustine, can be so definitely ascribed. Whether Ambrose also composed the music is not known; it is possible that, like his predecessors, he wrote his poems for already existing popular melodies.

An outstanding feature of the Ambrosian hymn is its emphasis on rhythm, indicating the shift from the older quantities of classic Latin to the qualitative stress patterns of medieval Latin. The new poetry, a truly Christian poetry in both subject matter and technique, is rhythmic and eventually, in the hands of later artists, received rimes at the ends of lines. Divided into eight strophes, each strophe like two long lines of iambic feet, there is at the end of every two strophes a pause in textual sense, strongly suggesting antiphonal performance by the two halves of the congregation.

These elements then are basic to the hymn: 1) written to be a musical weapon against heresy, 2) popular in both words and music, 3) musically simple, with a strophic technique, that is, each strophe sung to the same music, 4) congregational performance as a primary goal. To show these factors, we give the words and music of the first strophe of the Ambrosian hymn, "Aeterne rerum Conditor" ("Eternal Founder of all things"), one of those named by Augustine as definitely by Ambrose; the melody is written in triple rhythm, in accord with the qualitative nature of the poetry and specifications presented by Augustine in his *De Musica* (386-388):


Ae - ter - ne re - rum con - di - tor, No -
ctem di - em - que qui re - gis; Et tem - po - rum das
tem - po - ra, Ut al - le - ves fa - sti - di - um.

EXAMPLE 3-1.

In general, to the eighth century, the Ambrosian hymn was the model. During this period, the steady absorption of the hymn into the Hours was constant, except in Rome, where there was resistance until the ninth century. In areas where certain poets were influential, such as France, or where the ecclesiastic character of the writer gave sanction, as in Northern Italy with Ambrose, the liturgical adoption of the hymn was rapid. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this change in position of the hymn is the change seen in the music, which now began to take on the musical characteristics of normal plainchant; thereby it lost most of its rhythmic correspondence of words and music, for the new melodies to which hymn texts were set are stylistically closer to the highly melismatic chants of the already established service. They no longer have the clear rhythms of the past, and, without prior knowledge, it is difficult to identify a hymn melody as such. This may well be due to the monastic movement and its desire to make the Hours more solemn by the addition of hymns, something requiring a higher degree of musical sophistication than the original folklike melodies; this goal is particularly evident with the Irish Benedictines.

The hymn remained a constant source of inspiration throughout the Middle Ages. With the expansion of the choir school in France under Charlemagne, the new centers, such as at Paris, Tours, Dijon, Fleury, Chartres and Auxerre, not only assisted in the unification of the area under the Roman rite, but also provided the atmosphere for the continued creation of the hymn. Their work made of the hymn not only a way of fulfilling a now obvious liturgical function, but also gave it the status of a recognized art form, of interest to future generations.

The sequence and trope

Just as the hymn acted as a creative outlet within the Hours, so the sequence and trope acted within the Mass. Although the total number of sequences now found in the liturgy has fallen to five and the trope has completely vanished, both were very important forms in medieval times, losing their preëminent position as musical categories only with the rise of polyphony as an area of greater interest.

The background of the sequence is hidden in obscurity, although it now is evident that the original inspiration is of Byzantine provenance. In the East, it had long been the habit to adapt new texts to previously existing melodies, much as the earlier Syriac hymn writers had used popular songs for their new texts. With the presence of many Greeks in France during the ninth century, it is probable that knowledge of this custom became expanded in that part of the West. Regardless of exactly how and when the idea was transmitted, it is certain that shortly after 862 a monk from Jumiéges in Normandy appeared at the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, driven there at a time of troubles in his homeland.

Among the baggage of this monk was a small volume of chants in which additional texts had been fitted to the long melismata that make up the *jubilus* of the Alleluia, the melismata on the final *-ia*, which were then longer than those now found in today's chant books. One of the St. Gall monks, Notker (840?-912), recognized that this technique might well serve to aid the singer in remembering the involved *jubilus* melodies, for there would be the assistance of a verbal line. With the advice and encouragement of his teacher, Iso, Notker attempted to provide what he considered more suitable texts, working from the principle that the original melismata should be broken down into individual notes and each note thus derived provided with a syllable.

From this story, related by Notker in the preface to his *Liber Hymnorum*, it is evident that the procedure of adding words to an already existing melody was not a new one and that the original exploration of its possibilities was primarily due to French experimenters. The earlier French sequences differed in some respects from those developed at St. Gall, mainly in that the beginning of the sequence came on the *jubilus;* it was this melismata that provided all the music. At St. Gall, it became the custom for the first strophes to use the melody of the Alleluia proper, substituting the new text for the old. Further, the French examples are normally prose-like, without poetic rhythm, and show their relationship to the Alleluia by the frequent ending of lines in *-a*, like the final syllable of Alleluia. The St. Gall writers, on the other hand, wrote poetry of rhythmic character and neglected this emphasis on a final *-a*, suggesting a more artistic approach. It may well be that these changes indicate the reason for Notker's dissatisfaction for the examples from Jumiéges that he had seen; they were not sufficiently artistic.

The original sequence, as we have seen, was closely tied to the melismatic *jubilus* and was originally a poetic creation, not a musical one. In form, it consisted of isolated strophes at the beginning and end, with pairs of strophes in between, giving the structure known as the double cursus: X - A A - B B - C C . . . Y. The melodies for the opening and closing isolated strophes, as well as for each inner pair, were different; the number of syllables from one pair of strophes to the next was not constant, giving great irregularity to the individual line lengths.

In view of its inherent artistic possibilities, the sequence did not long remain attached to the Alleluia melodies, although it did retain its liturgical position at that point in the service. Melodies now began to be freely composed, with no relation to the *jubilus*, although retaining the syllabic character and musical form of the original. By the late tenth century, the musical reliance on the Alleluia had been completely broken, as witness the Easter sequence, "Victimae paschali laudes" ("Praises to the Paschal victim"), of Wipo of Burgundy (d. 1050); the present-day version (*LU*, 780) has slightly obscured the form by omission of the original sixth strophe.

One further development, due to a French love for symmetry and balance, may be noted, the gradual elimination of differences in length of strophes. The great figure in this change is Adam of St. Victor (d. 1192), a member of that Augustinian monastery founded by William of Champeux (1070-1121), the teacher of Abelard. With Adam, all strophes have the same regularity and formal balance, thus eliminating the external signs of the double cursus. Now, only reference to the music can make clear the difference between the hymn and the sequence, for the poetry is superficially the same; the hymn, however, is strophic in its music, while the sequence retains its melodic couplet idea, with new musical material for each pair of verses.

At the peak of its popularity, the sequence became an almost universally adopted part of the Mass, even appearing in those seasons where, because of its joyful character, the Alleluia was substituted by the Tract. Large collections of sequences were put together in special volumes, laid out like the Graduale. Sequences thus became organized much like the Proper of the Mass, with specific ones for specific days. Just as in the history of the Proper, there was a definite effort on the part of successive generations to fill out the church calendar, to differentiate between various feasts by the intricacy of the appropriate sequence and to accentuate the minor differences in ritual between one church and another. Inevitably, this led to an individualism, a subjectiveness, that later caused the Council of Trent to remove all but four from the liturgy: "Victimae paschali laudes," "Veni sancte spiritus," "Lauda Sion," and "Dies irae"; a fifth, the "Stabat Mater" of Jacopone da Todi (d. 1304), was reintroduced in the eighteenth century.

The trope, like the sequence, began as the addition of words to a preëxisting melody, in this case, other parts of the Mass such as the

Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Gradual, etc. It too seems to have much the same origins as the sequence, similarly with its first real exploitation at St. Gall through Tuotilo, a friend and contemporary of Notker. Broadly speaking, two types were developed, the one using the original melody and providing a new text or texts for that melody, the other taking the standard chant and its accompanying text, breaking it into sections and then interposing new bits of melody and text in the spaces made available.

In essence, the technique of troping, the idea of addition to an already existing foundation, is common to both sequence and trope, but there is one major difference, that the trope is bound in meaning to the text to which it is added, while the sequence has no such close connection. The use of the trope as explanation was carried quite far; we have twelfth-century examples of certain Epistles where there is an alternation of the original material in Latin with its text in French translation, for the benefit of the less learned.

By the thirteenth century, the vogue of the trope was nearly at an end. All of them were removed by the Council of Trent, although modern chantbooks do mark certain Kyries with the opening of the trope that was once used with them; for example, the Kyrie of Mass IV is named "Cunctipotens Genitor Deus" ("God, the All-Powerful Creator").

Within the trope one finds the typically medieval procedure of glossing. The gloss, an explanation or exegesis, is the use of a basic authority, on which a new structure is built by the addition of commentary. In many cases, the original text is written with large spaces between the lines; between these lines, the commentator inserts his explanations and definitions of the original text, seeking to clarify every possible meaning and implication. The old serves as the inspiration for the new, acting as a source of authority to which the new makes constant reference. The trope is the musical equivalent of the gloss of literature and logic.

The liturgical drama

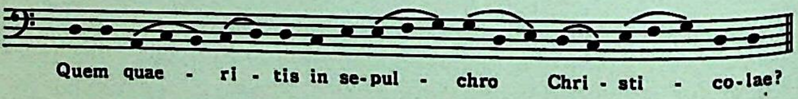
Among the works attributed to Tuotilo is "Hodie cantandus" ("Today we must sing"), a trope-like introduction to the Introit for Christmas. This composition began with one choir singing, "Today we must sing of the Child," followed by the second choir asking, "Who is this Child? Tell us. . . ." To this, the first choir replied, "He is that Child . . . whom the prophet has foretold," with the Introit immediately following the last phrase. In this simple form of choral dialogue we find the beginnings of the liturgical drama. As before, there is within this germ the medieval desire to explain and amplify, for, as St. Ethelwold says in his *Regularis Concordia*, written between 965-975, this enlargement of the service is ". . . to fortify the faith of the ignorant multitude and novices . . ."

Beginning as a musical dialogue, the range of the drama soon broadened to include action and scenic representation, although the essential character of the question and answer formula was not discarded. In the "Quem quaeritis" for Easter, these elements were combined into a complete play. On Good Friday, the Cross, wrapped in veils, was deposited on an altar representing the Sepulchre. Before Matins on Easter Day, sacristans removed the Cross, leaving only the veils; during Matins, one monk carrying a palm branch took his place in the Sepulchre. After the third Responsory, three other monks approached the Sepulchre, carrying boxes of incense; on being asked by the monk there, "Whom do you seek?" they replied, "Jesus of Nazareth." The first monk then stated, "He is not here; He has arisen," to which the three responded by turning to the choir with the words, "Alleluia, the Lord is arisen." To the phrase, "Come and see the place. . . ," the three inspected the Sepulchre, leaving their incense boxes and showing the veils to the choir. After the singing of "The Lord is arisen from the Sepulchre," the "Te Deum" was begun, with ringing of all the church bells.

Although the above description is taken from the *Regularis Concordia*, it represents what was happening all over Europe, for the custom of introducing drama within the liturgy, particularly at Christmas and Easter, took rapid root. The original short versions were rapidly expanded, with additional scenes and dialogue to heighten interest and make the message more vivid. At Easter, for example, the extensions might include the preparation of the three Marys for their visit to the tomb, the purchase of incense or the visit of Simon and Peter; the resources of the church involved would determine the degree of complexity and splendor.

With the expansion of the drama came a similar enlargement of possible subject matter, although there was not the universality of the schemes for the Nativity and Easter. These new subjects, generally found from the eleventh century on, include episodes from the lives of saints, such as St. Nicholas, and passages from both Old and New Testaments, such as the "Play of Daniel," "The Conversion of St. Paul," "The Raising of Lazarus," and "The Last Judgment." The popular character of the liturgical drama is suggested by the use of the vernacular in certain ones, such as in the "Play of the Wise and Foolish Virgins," from Limoges in the mid-twelfth century; the text is part Latin and part the dialect of Limousin. Finally, there is a "Play of St. Agnes" from the fourteenth century, written in Provençal; strictly speaking, this does not fall within the category of liturgical drama, for it is a play with incidental music based upon popular melodies or variations on the hymn, "Veni Creator" ("Come, O Creator").

In the sources, the music for the various liturgical dramas is written as plainchant, but it is not impossible that improvised counterpoint was added at climactic points; such a procedure would have been in keeping with the grandiose presentations that are suggested. It is also probable that instruments of various kinds played a strong role in these performances, to judge from various descriptions that have come down to us. The music itself is generally syllabic, with short melismata often coming near the end of the phrase. To a certain extent, there is a correspondence in style between the melodies of the liturgical drama and those of the hymn of the same time. While the poetry used is normally metrically organized, the accompanying chant often ignores this rhythm, for melismata frequently show little effort to make a correspondence. Evidently these melodies were performed in the manner of plainchant; as an example we give the opening of the "Quem quaeritis" as it appears in Padua, Bib. Capit., C 56, of the fourteenth century:



EXAMPLE 3-2.

Certain other melodies suggest a more popular character, using a syllabic setting that strongly implies rhythmic performance. In these, there are few melismata and the general appearance is that of the

Ambrosian hymn, although the iambus has been replaced by the trochee. These songs were probably performed metrically in triple rhythm. In the "Play of Daniel," from twelfth-century Beauvais, there is something of an effort to distinguish between soloist music, this to be performed like plainchant, and material for the choir, this rhythmically organized and of less melismatic character.

The popularity of liturgical dramas in the Middle Ages was great, but little artistic development is to be found after the fourteenth century, although they continued to be performed into the sixteenth century. With the transfer of dramatic composition to the secular world, dependence on music as an integral factor virtually disappeared; what little music was used in dramas came to be secular in origin and was more in the nature of interpolated songs rather than part of a musically conceived whole. One may suggest that the difference between the liturgical drama of the high Middle Ages and its secular derivatives was something like that between opera at the Metropolitan Opera House and the Broadway musical comedy.

The conductus

A final liturgical accretion, brought about by functional needs, was the conductus, its name implying music to accompany a procession; the term seems to have been first used in the "Play of Daniel," where it was applied to the pieces sung at entries. In addition, the term was applied to the music introducing the closing "Benedicamus Domino" of Vespers and Lauds. The place of conductus in the Church can be compared with that of the trope; as the trope was an elaboration of a particular chant, the conductus was an elaboration of a liturgical act, a heightening made by music.

Like the hymn, the strophes of conductus were uniform, but here the musical resemblance ends. Formal structures are much more varied, although there may be the strophic procedures of the hymn; other methods include through-composition, with constantly new music, the double cursus of the sequence, and even forms borrowed from the secular, such as the rondellus and ballade.

Conductus as it appears in the services has generally the musical characteristics already seen in the late hymn; the poetic rhythm of the text is often ignored by the composer, for long melismata do fall on unstressed syllables. These works seem to have been composed with a definite effort to make them fit stylistically with the plainchant of the rest of the service.

Of all the liturgical accretions, the conductus is freest in its creation, for it did not take its beginning from a musical demand of the liturgy. It was, therefore, a category with few restrictions on both text and music. As such an expression, its artistic relations reached outside the Church; there is the assumption that the musical and poetical characteristics of the conductus had existed long before its liturgical use as processional music. The name is a late addition, based on its function alone. As a monophonic artistic creation, it had a secular history, to be discussed in the next chapter; as a polyphonic category, it held an important place in the music of the thirteenth century, to which we shall turn later.

The interest in sacred monophonic composition reached its peak in the late twelfth century, declining rapidly thereafter. With the rise of polyphony and the growth thereby of increased artistic opportunity, the interest of musicians rapidly turned to the newer techniques, with the goal of re-ornamenting with polyphony all those areas that had been so carefully elaborated in plainchant over preceding centuries. We can look back in amazement at the complexity and variety of what is, to many modern ears, the barest of materials, the single musical line. Yet, within this simplicity we find the essence of medieval thinking, the elaboration of a world of complicated reasoning on a simple assumption.

Bibliography

As a source for the general background of all the categories mentioned, F. J. E. Raby's *Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1953) is basic. It may be supplemented by F. Brittain, *The Medieval Latin and Romance Latin Lyric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

The music for the hymn is generally available in the various chantbooks already named. For the sequence, two collections will give an idea of the range of the music, H. M. Banister and Dom Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1934), and Dom R.-J. Hesbert, *Le Prosaire de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1952), a facsimile of a thirteenth-century collection. The liturgical drama has received some attention of late through an excellent recording of the "Play of Daniel" by Noah Greenberg and the New York Pro Musica (Decca DL 9402); he has also prepared a modern edition of the work (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960). For the conductus, many musical examples are given in Friedrich Gennrich, *Lateinische Liedkontrafaktur* (Darmstadt: Gennrich, 1956).

Although most of the authorities on the sequence, trope, and conductus were written in German, the works of Jacques Handschin and Hans Spanke being the most important, two articles in English will furnish interesting sidelights: Richard L. Crocker, "The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XI (1958), and Leonard Ellinwood, "The Conductus" in *Musical Quarterly*, XXVII (1941).

For liturgical drama, E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2 vols., 1903) and Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2 vols., 1933) are essential. The latest researches are due to W. L. Smoldon, with particular reference to his article in the *New Oxford History of Music*, II.

4

Secular Monophony

The study of non-liturgical monophony to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contains many problems and complications that cannot allow final answers. That there must have been a great quantity of non-religious music during these ages is a truism, for we have intimations of its importance in the history of the hymn; the adaptation of popular melodies to new poetry of sacred character implies the existence of a large stock of music without relation to liturgical purposes. Enough mention of music in connection with purely secular activities is made that we can be sure that it played an important role in the everyday life of the time. Nevertheless, our knowledge is both skimpy and uncertain.

A major reason for our difficulties is the almost complete failure of transmission. If music (and its allied poetry) were to exist for future generations, it needed to be copied into manuscripts and then preserved in some kind of library. In view of the laborious processes required, the expense of materials, and the length of time needed, there was the natural tendency of those who directed the scribes to emphasize that which was most essential in their eyes. Since the preparation of manuscripts was the exclusive province of the trained cleric, working either within a monastery or a royal court, the end result was an almost complete neglect of all that did not contribute to the functioning of the one or the other establishment. Within the monastery, the emphasis fell on the copying of material for the liturgy, religious tracts of various kinds, and instructional works in all those areas needed for religious training. Within the courts, major effort was spent on correspondence and items directly tied to the process of government, with passing attention to chronologies, history, and laudatory poems. In view of what was to men of the period their lack of seriousness and meaning, secular productions received scant attention and were not normally considered worthy of preservation.

A second factor is the background of what was preserved, for it reflects principally one social group, the clerical circles that had sufficient education to write down their achievements. If we remember that the skills of reading and writing were restricted to a comparative handful, and that this handful was part of the religious segment of society, then it can be understood that those works we do have are, in the main, representative of that class and no other. Only when social conditions had begun to change and the non-religious had begun to have something of the same education as the cleric could there be any preservation of great numbers of compositions from men not of monastic background.

Finally, there is the question of musical notation, often a secondary matter in the minds of the scribes and therefore omitted. Even when included, because of the slow development of accurate methods, many of our earlier sources cannot be accurately deciphered and, in all too many cases, we can only be sure that there was music to accompany certain texts; from the indefinite character of the notation used it is impossible to define the melody. In certain cases, there is even the implication that the melody to be sung was so familiar that it did not need to be indicated, a familiarity that does not exist for us today.

With all these factors at work, the secular music preserved from these early centuries is certainly not a complete representation, for it is far too fragmentary and inadequate. The poetry is in Latin, the language of but one class; the music is indefinite, although implied. In most cases, we can only infer and suggest; we cannot be certain.

Latin secular music

In the beginning, sacred and secular monophony are exceedingly difficult to separate. Those men whom we know to have been the major representatives of secular creation, men such as Venantius Fortunatus (530?-609), are part of both worlds, reflecting both the religious and the laic; their poetic and musical forms indicate that they were highly influenced by those developed within the liturgy. While much of the poetico-musical activity took place in Southern France, in Provence and Aquitaine, important centers also existed in Northern Italy, in Bobbio and Verona. The two latter monasteries, founded by the Irish monk, St. Columban, were extremely productive in the seventh through ninth centuries. Perhaps their most important achievement was the development of refrain forms, to be taken over later by works in the vernacular.

With the period of Charlemagne, the ninth century, a certain rebirth of interest in the Latin classic made its appearance. From this time come musical settings of such works as Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, certain of the Horatian *Odes* and parts of Vergil's *Aeneid;* because of the notation used, they are indecipherable. With this looking backward, there also came an enlargement of subjects treated, including now love songs, songs of praise, and laments. There is within all these an implied necessity for music even when music does not appear with the text. There are also included within these texts descriptions of instruments of the time, suggesting the growth of instrumental accompaniment to vocal pieces.

The most important secular Latin products of a slightly later time are those found within the compositions produced by the Goliards or wandering scholars. These men, all clerics who roamed from one university to another as they pleased, show in their works the naturalism of the young, their subjects ranging from the most chaste of love lyrics to the most obscene of drinking songs. Preserved principally in a Cambridge manuscript of the twelfth century and a thirteenth-century manuscript from Benedictbeuern known as the *Carmina Burana*, these poems show the mixture of sacred and secular forms and rhythms to be expected from those whose training has been religious but whose lives were spent outside religious establishments. While musical notation appears in both sources, it is of an early type that will not allow transcription. Certain melodies can be supplied from later sources, where the notation is more advanced, but not sufficient in number to give a complete picture.

There is, however, a strong suggestion that many of the melodies used by the Goliards were of sacred origin, a not implausible source in view of the custom of troping. We have one secular piece, "O admirabile Veneris idolum" ("O lovely image of Venus"), which uses as its melody that of a processional hymn, "O Roma nobilis" ("O noble Rome"). It is probable that many others have been arrived at by the same process, termed *contrafactum*, by which new texts are supplied as replacements for the old; this technique is well within the medieval tradition of building on the pre-existent.

Troubadours and trouvères

Under the onslaught of successive waves of barbarians and the varieties of languages brought with them, Latin as a means of communication at all levels of society began to weaken. While it remained the language of the Church and of educated men, it steadily assumed less and less importance for those outside clerical circles, for secular society turned to those variations brought about by the impact of the invaders. While this process was going on all over Europe, the first evidences of an effort to elevate the new languages to carriers of artistic intent were seen in France, where two strong movements can be discerned.

The first of these, found in Southern France from around the middle of the eleventh century, is that associated with the language now known as Provençal or the *langue d'oc* and whose musician-poets are known as troubadours. The second, in Northern France and rising from the middle of the twelfth century, used the language variation at the root of modern French or the *langue d'oïl;* artists working in this tongue are called trouvères. In both cases, the names suggest connection with the older process of troping.

The major center for the growth of early troubadour art was around Poitiers, the seat of the Duke of Aquitaine; one may recall that this area is that from which came both Hilary and Venantius Fortunatus. As a part of that duchy and with a chateau for the Duke, Limoges in Limousin also acted as a secondary center, with much cross influence between the ducal establishment and the monastery of St. Martial. In time, the influence spread through most of southern France, covering the basin of the Garonne to Toulouse and Narbonne. These areas were generally unified by their political outlook as well as their language; a certain kind of civilization arose there that was conducive to the production of art of all kinds.

This new civilization was one of leisure, without the necessity of continual combat to protect itself. Influenced by the Church and its desire to keep peace, except against the Church's own enemies, the knights of Provence found themselves attached to their castles in a life of comparative ease. With this new leisure for men came leisure for women and a change in the relations between the sexes to an exaltation of the place of the lady in noble society. As a way of showing greatness, a lavish scale of living became the custom, demonstrated by attention to display in clothing, furniture, housing, food, drink, and in all other pursuits of enjoyment. Among these pastimes, the art of the troubadour soon took a high place, for, within this new framework, the achievements of a noble musician-poet could give him the same high reputation that a preëminence in battle could have given in previous times.

The first important representative of the new spirit was William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1127), of whom eleven works are preserved, with a fragmentary melody for one. These pieces show the broad characteristics of those to follow, among them the understanding that these songs are intended for an aristocratic audience and that the poetry is to be expressive of the feelings of the author, subjective reactions to the topic involved. In later generations this subjectiveness became a deliberate obscurity of expression, even to the use of coined words; the best representative of this tendency is Arnaut Daniel (1180?-1210?), much praised by Dante.

The principal subject of troubadour pieces is love in all its various aspects; indeed, the forty poems we have of Bernart de Ventadour (after 1150) are built on nothing else. In addition, there are dialogues in the manner of debates, wherein a subject is proposed and two viewpoints are exposed in alternation; this poetic contest, perhaps modeled on real ones, is the *tenso*, *partimen* or *joc partit*. A third broad category is the *sirventes*, taking up almost any subject except that of love. Among its subtypes are the Crusade song, the political satire, and the *planh* on the death of a protector or friend. These songs were not normally performed by the creator but by a special class of musicians known as the *jongleur*. The jongleur was not a composer or poet, but merely a performer who made his living by going from place to place and displaying his talent for any social level that would pay him. While the great mass of jongleurs remained the servants of the lower classes, some few were lucky enough to be received into the castles, where their talents were at the service of the nobility; these men were known as minstrels. They were expected to please their various audiences and therefore had large repertoires of almost every type of musical entertainment. Not only did they sing the short creations of their betters, but also gave much attention to the long epic poems of the time, the *chansons de geste* of which the "Song of Roland" is the best known example; these were sung to short melodic formulae that fitted the rhythmic patterns of the poem. In addition to accompanying themselves instrumentally, they were also expected to provide music for dancing, with acrobatics and juggling as supplementary diversions.

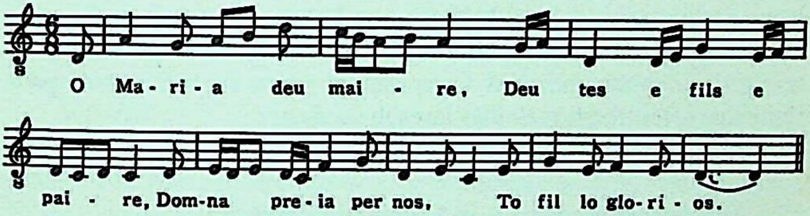
The art of the troubadour disappeared at the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the destruction of Provençal civilization in the Albigensian Crusades that began in 1209 and ended twenty years later. With the conquest of Southern France by men of the North and the consequent political and social upheavals, the class that had brought forth the troubadour vanished. By the end of the thirteenth century the last troubadour, Guiraut Requier (1235?-1292), had brought the story to an end; even he spent the last years of his life in Spain, under the protection of Alfonso X.

Contact between Northern and Southern France had been constant for many centuries and many troubadours, Ventadour and others, are known to have visited Northern courts during the twelfth century. The Crusades too caused many meetings between the nobles of both areas, occasions on which the troubadour art was demonstrated. By the mid-twelfth century the exchange had become sufficiently effective that certain Northerners began to imitate in their own language the work of their Southern masters. These first productions are little more than changes of language, following Southern technique and content almost slavishly. Indeed, admiration for troubadour models was so great that many of the most highly esteemed were later quoted in trouvère works.

While the original trouvère productions were imitative, as with the songs of Conon de Béthune (1150?-1219) and Guy de Coucy (1186?-1203), later creations moved toward an individuality based on dance forms and the refrain. Certain troubadour forms did have imitators, but these gradually disappeared before the popularity of the rondeau, the virelai and the ballade, forms of minor importance within the troubadour repertoire. All three of these forms are organized by a refrain, suggesting the possibility of responsorial performance, using a leader and a choral group. In its classic form, the rondeau began with a refrain of a full strophe, followed by a half-strophe and a half-refrain; after a succeeding full strophe there was a return to the full refrain to close the work. Musically, there were but two fragments, one for each half-strophe and repeated in accord with the poetic text; the full diagram is ABAAABAB. The ballade was normally of three strophes of seven or eight lines each; the last one or two lines of each strophe are identical and act as a refrain. The musical form is AAB, each A standing for two lines and the closing B the remaining ones; this form is much like the *canzo* of the troubadours. The third form, the virelai, begins with a refrain of a full strophe, followed by two half-strophes (the *ouvert* and the *clos*), a full strophe (the *tierce*) and closes with the full refrain. Musically, the form is ABBAA, with each A representing a full strophe, each B a half. All three of these forms remained important well into the Renaissance.

Preservation of poetry and music of both troubadours and trouvères has been comparatively plentiful, for we have about 2500 troubadour poems and 250 melodies, with over 4000 trouvère texts and some 1400 musical accompaniments. In view of the high social distinction accorded to gifted nobles, it was felt appropriate that collections (*chansonniers*) be subsidized by them for presentation purposes or for simple glory. It may be presumed that the copyists were clerics attached to the household.

The music for troubadour and trouvère songs is generally simple, frequently emphasizing the syllabic and with normally short melisma, again much like the hymn. The influence of the modes is apparent, although there is a tendency to introduce accidentals in such a way as to suggest more of our modern major and minor. The range is usually limited, seldom going to the octave. As to rhythm, most authorities today agree that the notes of these songs were not of equal length and were organized into rhythmic patterns much like those seen in the polyphonic works of the thirteenth century. The agreement ends here, for there is often much dispute over the application of these patterns to the individual composition. As a sample of both the melodic appearance and the possible rhythmic interpretation that may be used, we give here a short troubadour work in honor of the Virgin Mary, taken from a twelfth-century manuscript originating at St. Martial in Limoges:


O Ma - ri - a deu mai - re, Deu tes e fils e
pai - re, Dom-na pre - ia per nos, To fil lo glo- ri - os.

EXAMPLE 4-1.

Secular monophony in Italy

With the Albigensian Crusade and the consequent confusion, many troubadours fled to other parts of Europe. One of the preferred refuges was Northern Italy, an area already visited by many Provençal artists during the late twelfth century; particularly important was the court of the Marquis of Montferrat, who had received Peire Vidal (1175?-1205?) and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (1155?-1207?). Raimbaut's works show the international character of the troubadour, for he is the author of a *descort* that has its first five strophes successively in Provençal, Italian, French, Gascon, and Galician-Portuguese; the sixth, of ten lines, repeats the order of languages in its five paired lines. He is the writer of the earliest known poetry in Italian (1202).

The Italian *trovatori* of the North generally followed their troubadour masters closely, not only taking over their techniques but also their subject matter. Some few Italian poems are almost literal translations of Provençal models, although the more usual derivation is that of a transfer of imagery. More originality is found in the output of the South, for, under Frederick II (1211-1250), Sicily became a major center of development. The climax of the process of development of an individual Italian approach came only at the end of the thirteenth century and in Central Italy, with Dante (1265-1321) as the real founder of Italian literature.

No music for any of these Italian courtly songs has survived, but a great number of hymns in the vernacular have remained. These hymns, known as *laudi spirituali*, were the result of a spiritual revival climaxed by the work of St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) and were designed for performance by the lower classes. Written in a popular Italian, the *laudi* show the influence of chant, but there are other secular elements apparent. In form, the Italian equivalent of the virelai, the ballata (not to be confused with the ballade) is normal, although the music may not be as simple as its French counterpart; there are often fresh melodies in each section.

Secular monophony in Spain and Portugal

The situation in Spain and Portugal was almost exactly that seen in Italy, for the various courts of the Iberian peninsula had long held close connections with those of Southern France. Peire Vidal was one of the close friends of Alfonso II of Aragon, and other troubadours had become well known in Castille and in Portugal. As in Italy, the earliest productions were extremely close to their sources in all facets, with the rise of peculiarly Iberian manifestations coming in the thirteenth century; even here, there were some reproaches for failure not to follow the Provençal models closely enough.

Preservation of a Spanish-Portuguese repertoire of purely secular music has been poor, for only six songs in Galician-Portuguese have survived with their music. What has come down to us is a collection of Marian songs, the *Cantigas de Santa María*, settings of poems relating miracles performed by Her. Although the *Cantigas* are all anonymous, it is probable that certain ones are by Alfonso X

(1221-1284) of Castille and Leon, for the collection was put together at his court. Many of these songs reflect French influence, the whole group recalling the *Miracles de Notre Dame* by Gautier de Coinci (1177-1236). In form, the majority follow the outlines of the virelai, while the music harks back to the chant.

Secular monophony in England

In spite of a close connection between England and the continent, there seems to have been little growth of a purely native response to troubadour influence. During the late twelfth century, parts of Southern France were possessions of the English crown through the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry II, and the presence of troubadours at the English court was common; Bernard de Ventadour visited there. Indeed, Eleanor's son, Richard the Lion-Hearted, became a practicing trouvère; his death in 1199 was mourned by Gaucelm Faidit (1180?-1220) in a moving *planh*, the only one whose music has come down to us.

The failure of troubadour art to call forth extensive English reaction lies in the great gulf between the Norman nobility, speaking a variation of French, and the rest of the country. Not until England could develop an individual language of literary capability could there be great progress, a stage that did not occur until Chaucer's time. Nevertheless, a few simple melodies with English text have remained, generally syllabic and with scale-wise motion as a major characteristic; there is much repetition of similar fragments, suggesting an approach to melody through formulae.

Minnesingers and Meistersingers

As in the other parts of Europe, Germany underwent the influence of the troubadours early, during the late twelfth century. Exchanges were facilitated principally by the Crusades, but there were frequent visits by troubadours and trouvères into Northern Europe; these visits extended quite far, for Peire Vidal is found at the Hungarian court of Emeric around 1200. Intermarriage was also of importance in furthering cultural exchange, with an outstanding example in the wedding of Beatrice of Burgundy to Frederic Barbarossa in 1156.

On the whole, as descendants from the troubadour-trouvère tradition, the Minnesingers remained closer to their masters. Recent research has indicated that the early development of Minnesinger poetry is almost completely imitative, with few individual touches; themes, techniques, forms, and imagery are all closely tied to French originals. It may be that this will explain the comparative poverty of musical sources, for it is probable that the first Minnesingers not only took over all the poetic characteristics of their teachers but their melodies as well. We do have the story from one Minnesinger that his lady had sent him an untexted French melody to which he should supply a German text.

Whether or not there was originally a direct taking over of French melodies, it is certain that German forms followed closely those developed in the South. Of particular importance was the German equivalent of the ballade, the *Barform*, with its *Stollen-Stollen-Abgesang*, so eloquently described by Hans Sachs in Richard Wagner's "Die Meistersinger" of over five centuries later. Other forms included imitations of the troubadour patterns, the *Spruch* following the *sirventes*, the *Geteiltezspil* the *joc partit*, and the *Leich* the *descort* or *lai*.

Later Minnesingers show a greater individuality, although there is always a reliance upon French models in the background. The peak of the movement comes somewhat late in comparison to other areas, the closing thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries marking the high point. After this time the Minnesinger art declined rapidly, passing over into bourgeois society as imitation of upper-class customs. This movement within the middle class was undertaken by the group known as the Meistersingers, a guild-like organization that survived into the early nineteenth century. Athough the Meistersingers were theoretically both poets and composers, the accent fell most strongly on the poetic side, for the major efforts were devoted to the provision of new poetry for a stock of traditional melodies. Musically, there was little viable in the Meistersinger movement, for it represented an effort to take over an activity of an upper social level by a middle class to whom it was artificial and at a time when it no longer held artistic possibilities.

It is significant that the full flowering of secular monophony comes at a time when monophony was no longer of great concern to musicians within the Church. With the steady development of polyphony, the attention of professional church composers and performers turned to the new technique, for it made a greater appeal to their artistic talents. As a result, the provision of new monophonic works within the Church was left more and more to the less trained, the amateur, a man not able to work with the new complications. The task of providing the liturgy with a new polyphonic adornment, replacing or supplementing older monophony, was sufficiently challenging and intriguing to cause a comparative neglect of further expansion of the sacred monophonic repertoire by the professional; he turned to polyphony.

The amateur status of monophony in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is reflected by the taking over of this area by the secular musician-poet working in the vernacular, a man with little of the musical background common to the church-trained. A musical novice, he perforce fell back on what he had heard—chant and popular melodies—without going further. For him, the area of greatest interest was not the music but the poetry. The very notion of a stock of melodies, a group of formulae, to which many poems could be set implies this lowered place of music, as does the failure to preserve melodies and poems in equal quantity. Even in those cases where the music is of some artistic significance, and there are many, there is still a sense of reliance upon an already developed artistic foundation, one carried to a peak by church musicians of the past.

Together with the failure of monophony to maintain its previously high artistic position goes its consequent drop in philosophical importance. In treatises of the time, the place of monophony becomes more and more a demonstration of certain fundamentals whose philosophical meaning is intensified when absorbed into polyphony. In a nutshell, polyphony demonstrates the meanings of speculative music better than does monophony and thus stands on a higher level. Where Guido had spent time giving directions on how to compose simple monophony, thirteenth-century theorists take the same space on how to improvise simple polyphony.

With the failure of sacred monophony to continue its expansion in the face of the rise of polyphony, it is no surprise to see the Church turning to secular productions when it needed monophony for particular purposes. Stylistically in accord with the already existing repertoire because of their background, secular monophonic works could be and were provided with new texts to fit a new function. Many thirteenth-century monophonic conductus were so derived and numerous other works were given Latin religious *contrafacta*, for the continuation of monophonic composition in secular circumstances gave ample stocks of melodies to satisfy the Church's requirements. In time, many of these were made part of later polyphonic compositions, for the custom of providing *contrafacta* in both directions, from sacred to secular and vice versa, gradually destroyed any feeling on the composer's part that any melody necessarily carried connotations from the text to which it had been originally fitted. It became to him but a musical element, to be used in a musical construction and handled in the same fashion, regardless of whether its origin be sacred or secular. All of this is but one facet of the increasing secularization of the Middle Ages, to which we will return later, in our discussion of the polyphony of the thirteenth century.

Like the decline of monophony in the Church, the disappearance of secular monophony may be tied to the rise of polyphony. As the new technique showed its higher artistic possibilities, the secular musician became more and more aware of its increased opportunities for expression. Just as monophony fell to a second place in the Church, so did it drop in secular circles. With an appreciation and understanding of the superiority of polyphony, the secular composer endeavored to carry over the new technique into secular areas; the growth of secular polyphony can be directly tied to the gradual disappearance of secular monophony. In those areas such as France, where polyphony made its first gains, secular monophonic works on the upper levels disappeared first; in Germany, where polyphony developed late, it remained long after it had vanished almost everywhere else.

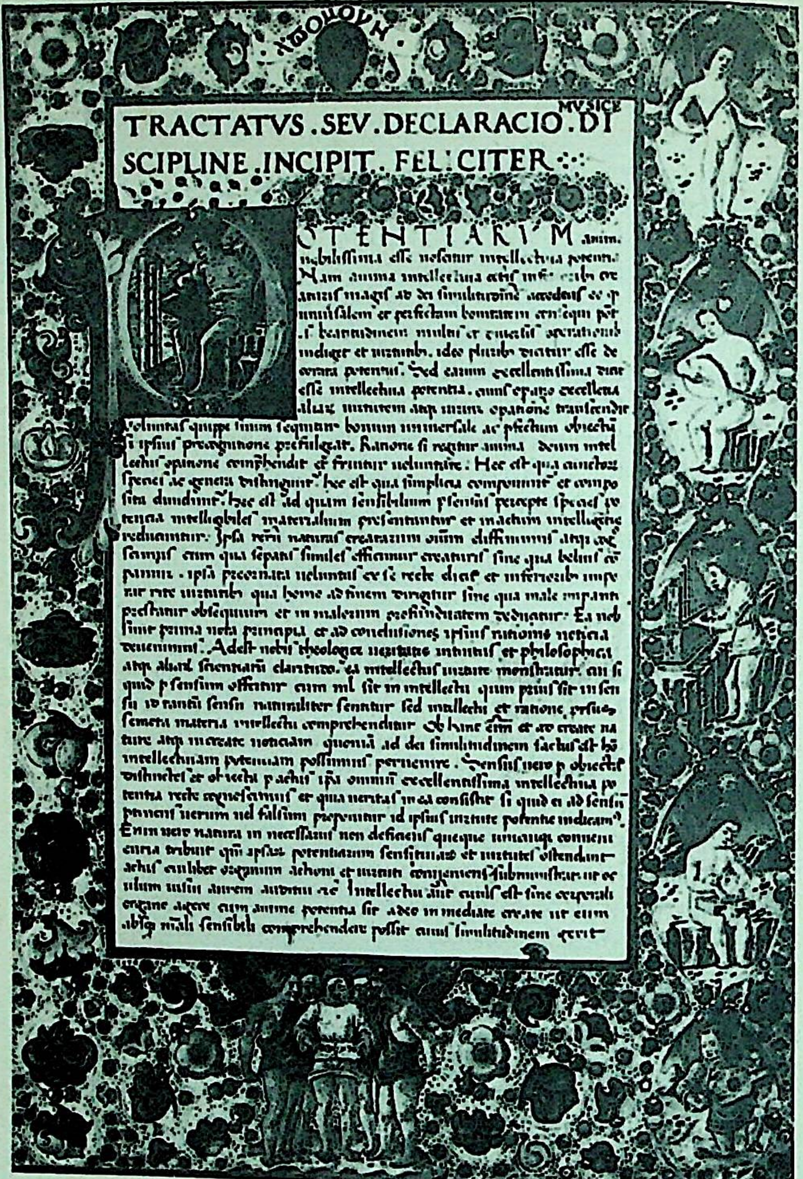
Of course, secular monophony never completely vanished. Perhaps a better phrase would be that it lost its artistic significance for the social class that had originally fostered it. As of lower artistic import it remained a manner of musical expression to lower levels of society, either as imitation of their betters or as an artless expression in musical terms. The folk song survived, as it always had and always will, but it was no longer taken as worthy of professional attention and elevation. Art music henceforth was to be polyphony, something not capable of composition by anyone without thorough grounding in its techniques. In monophony, the amateur might compete, but in polyphony he could not.

Instruments and instrumental music

As we have seen, the early Church Fathers were deeply opposed to the use of instruments within the liturgy, regarding them as too much a part of pagan culture. As such, they had no place within a Christian life and were to be shunned by every believer. Some exceptions were made from time to time, such as a certain acceptance for the lute and kithara because of their relation to King David, but these were always understood to be special cases. In spite of Biblical reference to the trumpet, cymbals, and other instruments, their relation to Greek and Roman society was such as to inspire mistrust.

With the split of East and West and the continual influx of barbarians careless of the artistic agreements of the past, the problem of forbidding instruments became simpler; most of those under suspicion had disappeared and those in use had no connotational problems. In the course of time, there was a general movement to forget many of the attitudes of the past and to accept as part of the musical scene the use of instruments. While many were indigenous products, coming from various parts of Europe and especially from the outer edges, some were importations from Asia via the many contacts that we have already noticed. By the tenth century, instruments were an acknowledged part of musical practice and, to judge from our sources, with standard symbolic meanings.

So far as the Church was concerned, the most useful of all instruments was the organ. Although the Romans had developed a form of organ called the *hydraulis*, from its reliance on water pressure, the medieval organ or *positive* was supplied with air from a bellows, worked by either hands or feet. The choice of tones was not governed by a keyboard in the earlier examples but by a series of slides that opened and closed the appropriate pipe. A true keyboard as we know it was not developed until the twelfth century, but even then mechanical friction made the action so hard that it required a full-fisted blow on the key to cause the sound. In spite of the primitive state of engineering, attempts were made to enlarge the organ's possibilities, one instrument of the tenth century at Winchester be-



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Rome, Vatican, Rossiano 455, folio 1 recto. The text is the opening of the *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* by Ugolino of Orvieto. At the right, from top to bottom, are pictures of cherubs playing various instruments: the vielle, the lute, the portative, the psaltery, and the hurdy-gurdy. The illuminated initial shows an artisan building an organ. At the bottom are singers grouped around a music book.

ing built with two manuals, 26 sets of bellows and 400 pipes. Early organs were loud and not in tune; nevertheless, the positive became an important part of the Church's music, so much so that all other instruments were eventually banned from the services. By the fourteenth century, it had assumed a place in the symbolism of the time as "the king of instruments," a term used even today and derived from both its sound and its place in worship.

As a form of easily transported organ, the *portative* became part of the music at court. Small and capable of being worked by one man without assistance, it carried none of the religious overtones associated with its larger brother. Since one hand of the executant was occupied in building up the air pressure, its position was not that of a polyphonic instrument but one used in group performance, as a member of chamber combinations.

Together with the portative were associated many other monophonic instruments of varying types and methods of sound production; these include the harp, the psaltery, and the lute (plucked stringed instruments) and the vielle and the rebec (bowed instruments). Although the harp had a long history, the one used by the Middle Ages was brought from Ireland where it had the connotations of a royal instrument; it appears even today in the Irish coat-of-arms. By the late twelfth century it had lost something of its position, for it was then the instrument favored by jongleurs and wandering actors. Both psaltery and lute were originally brought to Europe by the Moors in Spain and slowly spread to the rest of the continent; curiously, both were not normally plucked by the bare finger but by a quill or rod. The goal seems to have been a certain impersonality of tone.

The vielle, like the harp, was primarily an instrument used by the jongleur to accompany the *chanson de geste* or to provide music for dancing. One of the more celebrated secular works of the twelfth century, the "Kalenda Maya" by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, was the result of the troping of an *estampida* played for him on the vielle. While usually played with the bow, it could be plucked. The rebec, an instrument of Arabian origin, is the distant ancestor of our violin, although its original shape suggests a relation to the lute; in the thirteenth century, it had but two strings, tuned to C and G.

Two groups of instruments, the brass and percussion, were the particular property of the nobility. Of highest significance was the oliphant, a horn most often made of an elephant's tusk, although sometimes found in gold; its Eastern origin is obvious. As a symbol of nobility, it was carried by a knight as part of his standard equipment; it could not belong to any other class. It was an oliphant that the dying Roland sounded at Roncesvalles, and certain medieval miniatures show it as being used by the Archangel Gabriel at the Day of Judgment. The trumpet, in wood or brass, also served as a military instrument, used on all grand occasions. Together with the timpani, brought to Europe in the Crusades period, it was symbolic of the royal presence and its players were given precedence over other instrumentalists of the court. Its functions in war were similar to those in later periods.

There is sufficient evidence to prove that instruments were a normal part of almost all musical performances, but the music itself gives no clue as to how instruments took part. Modern performances of medieval music have attempted to reconstruct as well as possible the original conditions, but there can be no final guarantee of authenticity. About all that we can be certain of is that medieval audiences liked varieties of instruments, not homogeneous choirs. In Guillaume de Machaut's description of a concert from the fourteenth century, 31 different instruments are listed as part of the orchestra and a total of more than fifty players in the ensemble is implied. The music as we find it in the sources suggests none of this. Indeed, we have no firm ideas of how monophonic music was accompanied, although we are sure that it was; in all likelihood, the accompanying line essentially duplicated that of the singer, with occasional added ornamentation, in what is called heterophony.

The earliest independent instrumental pieces in our sources come from late thirteenth-century English manuscripts and are dances for one instrument. The most interesting of these is the *stantipes*, formally organized in the double cursus of the sequence. Derivations from this form can be found until the early Renaissance, in both French and Italian sources. That even the few examples we find have survived is surprising, for the place of the dance in the Middle Ages was such that copying of these works into a permanent shape was not to be expected; in the manuscripts where they appear, they are obvious afterthoughts.

Some polyphonic music for instruments has been preserved, the most important being two codices of keyboard music from the fourteenth century, the *Robertsbridge Codex* of English provenance and the Italian *Faenza Codex*. Both contain sacred and secular works in idiomatic arrangements and show an effort to add figurations and ornaments to give the work a more instrumental cast. From inspection of the contents of both sources, it is evident that truly independent instrumental music was only at its beginnings and that vocal music was the center of creative activity.

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H. J. Chaytor, *The Troubadours* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), although dated, is still one of the best sources in English; most of the work on this subject has been done by French and German scholars, in particular Jean Beck, Pierre Aubry, and Friedrich Gennrich. If possible, their many works should be consulted, particularly for the musical examples. For a good survey of trouvère achievements, see Jessie Crosland, *Medieval French Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956). Both Beck and Aubry have published several volumes of trouvère compositions. Theodore Karp's recent article, "Borrowed Material in Trouvère Music" in *Acta Musicologica*, XXXIV (1962), is a fascinating study of cross-relationships; in addition, Robert H. Perrin's articles in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IX (1956) and XVI (1963), should be consulted.

Early Italian music is best presented by Fernando Liuzzi, whose *La Lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana* (Rome, 1935) is an outstanding achievement. Gennrich has prepared several small volumes of facsimiles of Minnesinger works for his classes at Darmstadt; these give a thorough idea of the style. A complete transcription of the *Cantigas* is available: Higini Anglès, *La Musica de las Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Barcelona, 1943).

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5

The Beginnings of Polyphony

If one had to define in a few words the characteristics that set the music of the West apart from that of other cultures, the first point to be noticed would be, in all probability, the simultaneous performance of many individual melodic lines, all generally under the control of the composer. While other civilizations do have music with a multitude of individual lines sounding at the same time, in most cases there is reliance upon improvisatory skills of the performer to produce this variety, not the guiding hand of the inventor. In these alien cultures, there is not the easy possibility of duplication of performance, the repetition of the same work in the same form and shape as in its original creation; in most of them, the starting point is not a completed composition, but a simple scheme to guide the performers in their individual elaborations, without pre-existing complications.

Although Western polyphonic music began from this point, the performers' improvisation of an accompanying line or lines to a given melody, its history has been the steady growth of the place of the composer to a commanding position over the performer. The development of notation, the introduction of tempo markings and dynamic signs, the explanation of interpretation by verbal directions, the complications of orchestration, all these and others are direct indications of the ever-increasing domination of the creator over the reproducer. That many composers of today have turned to electronic means and the computer is but a logical conclusion to the historical process of the past, the steady growth of the composer's absolute control of the interpretation and performance of his musical creations, without intervening interpreters.

The beginnings of this process in the Middle Ages show little of what was to come, for early polyphony owed its start to the improvising performer. Where the inspiration for this new technique, eventually called counterpoint from its note-against-note characteristics (*punctus contra punctum*, to give the Latin), originated has not been satisfactorily settled. Many theories have been advanced in both past and present, but no hypothesis has yet been given that has brought general agreement. Some scholars have suggested the ancestry may lie in Greek music, where is found a technique of two performers improvising on the same melody, or heterophony. Others have supposed that its roots rest in the natural variations in voice placement from one person to another; they theorize that the same melody sung by tenor and bass at the same time, both using the most comfortable parts of their ranges, would produce a series of parallel intervals resembling the products of early polyphony. Further hypotheses include an origin in folk music, a result of chance discovery, or the outcome of philosophical speculation on the possibility of simultaneous interval performance. Perhaps the only certainty may be that polyphony in one form or another existed elsewhere before we see its growth in the West; it may well be that, like the hymn and so many other liturgical additions, polyphony was imported from the East.

Regardless of origin, by the seventh and eighth centuries a simple improvised counterpoint had developed to such a point that writers were beginning to mention it in terms that imply that it was of common practice. Our earliest remarks come from a treatise on Latin prosody from England, by Bishop Aldhelm (640?-709), who refers to *organum*, the term for this elementary note-against-note technique, as a symbol of well arranged metric accent. He also notes that organum was of particular value for joyful occasions; this attitude toward polyphony, that it could serve as a musical discriminant within the liturgy by setting off a day of importance through its use, is a major factor in its later development. There is also a ninth-century statement that Roman singers imported to France by Charlemagne in 787 taught the fundamentals of polyphonic improvisation to their students there. Most authorities do not take this report seriously, for it is probable that its author was trying to justify the use of polyphony by referring its derivation to the heart of the Church; the whole episode seems to be the product of imagination rather than fact. When, at last, technical descriptions of polyphony began to appear in theoretical works by the ninth and tenth centuries, there was no effort to trace its history or to attach it to particular regions; evidently, it was of sufficient age and universality to be considered a custom, not a novelty.

Like the other accretions to the liturgy mentioned earlier, the beginnings of counterpoint are found in the various monasteries of the West and their attached choir-schools. Indeed, the same religious centers important in the development of the sequence and trope were those where polyphony received its first impetus, and the placing of an additional line of music against one already given is in the same tradition as literary troping, where an addition of a text is made to a pre-existing melody. Polyphony, in its earliest stages, is no more than musical troping and, like its literary brother, another form of that reference to authority so much a part of the medieval mind. The given melody, the basic plainchant, is that authority to which commentary, now in musical terms, has been added. As in the history of the literary trope, the musical trope or polyphony was to undergo an expansion that would go far beyond a complete reliance upon the given material; even though the added material eventually was to overshadow the basic foundation by its elaborateness and complexity, the connection to troping was never to disappear completely.

It is perhaps this fact of troping as a starting point that may serve to explain in part why polyphonic music in the West soon began to lose its improvisational air. Evidently, because of the fixed character of the music on which the added voice or voices were imposed, there was by necessity a certain rigidity that curbed the character of the possible improvisation. No alterations could be made in the given plainchant foundation, for this was determined and immutable by its liturgical nature. The added part, if considered as a note-against-note technique, thereby also carried a certain degree of restriction, limiting the number of notes possible. If we add to this the limitations on the choice of notes enforced by the classification of intervals as perfect and imperfect (understanding that God could not be worshipped by imperfect means), the limits to improvisation were quite narrow. In the final analysis, one might almost conclude that the end product was not really improvised at all, except in the sense that, because of its restrictions of choice to a minimum of possible combinations, it did not need to be written down.

With the growth of interest on the part of composers in polyphony as an artistic expression, these rules were gradually relaxed, but the complications that were developed later were still subject to considerations other than just those of beauty of sound. The completed work had also to remain within the philosophical and speculative framework of which music was a part. This could not be achieved to the satisfaction of all parties concerned unless the composer could govern the result and achieve a balance between the two sides, the practical and the speculative. Improvisation alone could not do this, for the singer was not sufficiently trained to understand the speculative necessities, nor could improvisation be called a product of reason except in the most elementary of senses; all too easily the music resulting from uncontrolled improvisation might have sensual beauty of sound, but be completely lacking in all that would delight the mind. True polyphony in the highest of senses could not be improvised; it had to be composed, and by one aware of both practical and philosophical requirements.

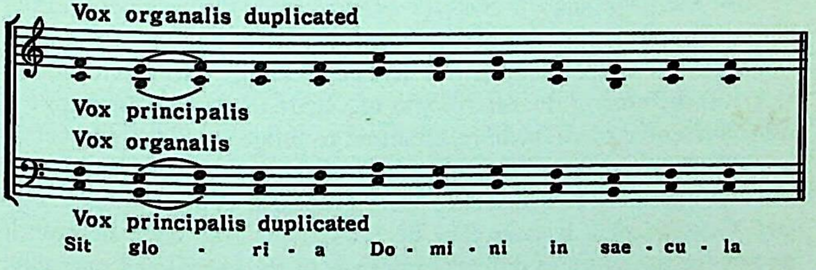
Without this attention to speculative implications, polyphony could have never advanced beyond its simple beginnings, for its growth depended on more than the technical interest brought to it by the singers in various monasteries. To assume any position of importance within the liturgy and thereby receive the attention of musicians, it had to be accepted by theologians and philosophers within the speculative framework of which monophony had for so long been a part. Such an acceptance was not long in coming, for discussion of the place of polyphony in music as part of the *quadrivium* began in the ninth century, the same century that produced the first technical descriptions.

The first philosopher to speak of polyphony as a speculative element is Johannes Scotus Erigena, master of the court school under Charles the Bald of France. Erigena's *De divisione naturae* (*Concerning the division of nature*) from about 876 not only gives a sketchy description of organum as a technique, but also remarks that polyphony suggests the otherwise inexpressible beauty of the universe. Musical harmony in terms of polyphony is thus a representative of cosmic harmony, the music of the spheres, and *musica mundana*. Its beauty is the direct result of the contrast of various proportions in simultaneous sounds, not in consecutive order as in monophony. This beauty, perceptible by reason alone, is, as always, superior to that which comes from the simple sensual pleasure aroused by the physical impact of the sounds. Evidently, the overall concept stems from Boethius, not altered but extended; what is new is the entry of polyphony into the scheme and its assumption of an important place therein.

This definition of the role of polyphony in speculation as outlined by Erigena was amplified by later generations of philosophers. The major clarification made by following writers is the relationship between monophony and polyphony. With the passing of time and the growing importance of polyphony as the major musical technique, there was more and more a tendency to regard monophony as an introductory branch of music, useful to teach fundamentals such as intervals and simple notation. Polyphony was a second stage, of greater importance in both musical and philosophical meanings. The *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* (*Declaration of the discipline of music*) by Ugolino of Orvieto (1375?-1455?) shows this development clearly; in Book II of this work, Ugolino states that, although there is delight in plainchant or *nuda musica* (the name itself suggests a classification) for both the ear and the mind, it is not the same high degree as in counterpoint. In monophonic music, one does not hear the many intervals in proportion as they resound in polyphony, but only one note after another. Counterpoint allows the reason to judge those elements that cannot be found in monophony, consonance and dissonance. As a typical viewpoint from the close of the Middle Ages and from one of the last medieval theorists, Ugolino's reactions summarize the attitude of the whole period. The relation to the views of Erigena is clear, for Ugolino's position is inherent in the work of the older man.

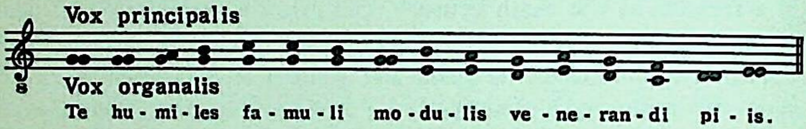
Theoretical sources

The earliest examples of notated polyphony that we have appear in a treatise of the tenth century, the *Musica enchiriadis* (*Musical manual*), once supposed to be by Hucbald (840-930), but now believed to be by Roger de Laon and written at Valenciennes. Two types of organum are described, the first based on the succession of certain fixed intervals, with or without doubling at the octave, the second, freer in style, where the opening and closing portions were not restricted to one interval. In performing the first type, the given plainchant melody or *vox principalis* is duplicated below at the distance of either a perfect fifth or perfect fourth, producing the *vox organalis;* of importance is the use of intervals in accord with their place in the speculative scheme, for all other intervals were dissonances or imperfect. Once these two lines were achieved, either or both could be duplicated an octave higher, giving composite organum in three or four voices:


Vox organalis duplicated
Vox principalis
Vox organalis
Vox principalis duplicated
Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

EXAMPLE 5-1.

It is evident that occasional problems might well arise in such a duplication at a strict distance, for, unless some kind of alteration by inserted accidentals was made, there would arise cases where one would be obliged to sing a tritone, the augmented fourth or diminished fifth, instead of the proper perfect interval; if the *vox principalis*, for example, were to sing d e f, a *vox organalis* at the fifth below would require G A B, producing the forbidden tritone, the "devil in music" as it was called by medieval musicians. To avoid this, the *Musica enchiriadis* suggests a free organum, with the two voices beginning on the same tone, rising to the interval of a fourth, then proceeding in parallel motion until near the end, with a close on the unison; an even freer type may be used, with an occasional shift to other intervals within the phrase, depending on the nature of the given plainchant and what must be done to avoid the tritone:


Vox principalis
Vox organalis
Te hu - mi - les fa - mu - li mo - du - lis ve - ne - ran - di pi - is.

EXAMPLE 5-2.

In the example given above, the difficulties of placing a consecutive series of perfect fourths below the *vox principalis* are apparent, for the tritone would appear at each b. By using unisons, seconds, thirds, and fifths, the clash is avoided and, what is more important, a certain freedom is acquired by the added voice—a freedom, however, more apparent than real, since choices of intervals to be used are not made at the will of the singer, but are determined by the inability to follow normal procedures. Free organum is thus to be used only when strict organum is impossible.

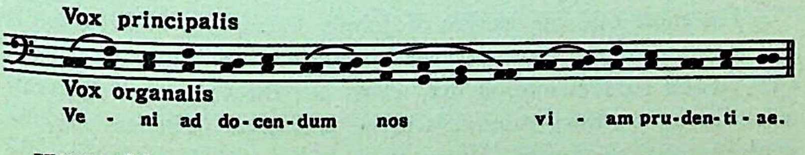
By the beginning of the eleventh century, the relative position of the two styles is no longer the same, for strict parallel organum is of much less interest and of less artistic meaning. Clear evidence of this shift is found in the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, perhaps the most influential of all medieval treatises, to judge from the number of copies still in existence, the many areas from which they come, and the long period over which they were prepared. Within the *Micrologus*, Guido makes it clear that he prefers the free style because it allows the use of more different intervals in the completed organum. The perfect fourth is the primary interval, with the major and minor thirds and the major second as other possibilities; the perfect fifth and the minor second are not permitted, as they are felt by Guido to be harsh. Other intervals are not mentioned, perhaps because Guido feels that there is no question of their possible employment. The

Micrologus defines the four usable intervals as "concords" (*concordia*) and the added voice as "diaphony" (*diaphonia*).

In his discussion, Guido grades chants by their suitability for the application of an organal voice, the classification set by the mode of the basic plainchant. The lowest level is held by chants in Modes III and IV, which use the strict manner. Here, the diaphonic voice proceeds at a perfect fourth below the given chant, in the same manner as already defined by the *Musica enchiriadis*. With Guido's distaste for the perfect fifth, there is here no mention of organum at that interval. The two-voiced organum arrived at by parallel motion is called "hard" (*durum*). As before, the number of voices may be expanded by duplication of the *vox organalis* at the upper octave; no mention is made of duplication of the *vox principalis* in the same way.

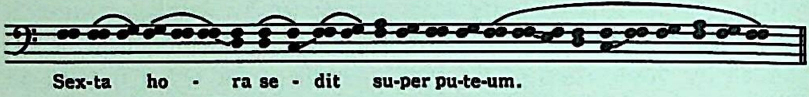
Organum in a free style, labeled as "soft" (*molle*), is divided into two types. The simpler is that made by adding a diaphonic line to melodies in Modes I and II. With these chants, one may use not only the perfect fourth, but also the major second and minor third. The use of these last two intervals is not common, however, and, for this reason, Guido makes it plain that he much prefers the more complicated type, based on melodies in Modes V through VIII. Organum on chants in these modes frequently includes the major second and major third, again in combination with the perfect fourth. To Guido, this last type is smoother and thus best.

A principal feature of Guido's further discussion is his series of remarks on the *occursus* or "coming together," found at the end of free organum in the second manner. Here, the close of organum is the unison, reached from a penultimate major second or major third (never minor): the effect of the occursus is that of a cadence, evidently considered as a more satisfying close than that of the perfect fourth. Certain of Guido's examples begin with a unison, proceeding then to the organal interval; we give one sample of the possible results:



EXAMPLE 5-3.

Although there is no reference within the treatise to the possibility of voice-crossing, certain of the examples show its employment. One of these uses a diaphonic voice of but one tone throughout the piece, an F repeated to every note of the given chant, which moves above and below this drone-like accompaniment. In addition, the last syllable of the chant is melismatic and one may presume that the F was not reiterated at each note of the melisma, but held out as a long tone, as though with a fermata above it:

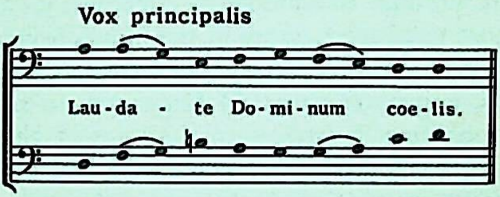


EXAMPLE 5-4.

With the *Micrologus*, the shift from improvisation to composition makes its first timid steps, for there is the realization that uniformity of approach and technique is not artistically desirable. Variety is the goal and one cannot give rules that will completely govern every possible situation. Guido's objective in presenting his examples is not that of procedural prescription, but that of showing a few of the many results that can be achieved within the application of a few broad artistic principles.

As the last of the early theoretical sources on organum, the *De musica* (*Concerning music*) by John of Affligem (sometimes referred to as John Cotton) from around 1100 is of paramount interest. Its author was, for many years, presumed to have been an English monk; many later theorists refer to him as such. Modern research has indicated he was probably Flemish in origin, working in a monastery at Affligem. While John's discussion of organum is not extensive, constituting one chapter of 23 within the *De musica*, it is of importance in showing the further development of free organum and the decline of the strict style; indeed, John does not even mention this variety, suggesting that it had long been regarded as of little significance and not worthy of discussion.

The most valuable section of John's description of organum is that insisting on the superior place of contrary motion between the two voices. Parallel motion may exist, but the variety of intervals achieved by contrary motion is to be preferred. Cadences may be made at either the unison or the octave, the choice depending on the nature of the plainchant, that is, whether it closes with an ascending or descending line; unison closes are preferable where possible. He also suggests that the organizing voice may, on occasion, sing two or three notes to one note of the given melody; no examples of this technique are given. There are no specific recommendations or directions within the discussion, the emphasis falling more on general principles. Only one short example appears, as a suggested approach and no more, with no implication that this particular excerpt is more than but one solution of many:



EXAMPLE 5-5.

Analysis of John's example shows the increased liberty of choice since Guido. Here, one sees all those intervals previously mentioned in the *Micrologus*—the second, third, and fourth—but the perfect fifth and minor seventh appear as well. Significantly, the work begins with a perfect fifth and includes one other, with only one perfect fourth at an unimportant place. Although John says nothing directly on the subject, it is evident that the high place of the perfect fourth as a consonance had begun to pass and that the perfect fifth, originally of inferior place, had started to replace it as the principal consonance after the octave. This trend was to lead, by the fifteenth century, to the difficult position that the perfect fourth theoretically was a consonance, but, in practice, had all the characteristics of a dissonance and could not be used without special precautions.

During this early period, up to the eleventh century, the employment of counterpoint within the liturgy was not completely determined, except that it was to act as an embellishment and elaboration of chants for those days to be set apart by some particular splendor. From the examples given in the *Musica enchiriadis*, one may deduce that organum was performed by the choir as a whole, for these excerpts, and they are no more than that, are nearly all based on plainchants liturgically assigned to the choir and, with one exception, from the Hours. This hypothesis is not destroyed by the information from the treatises of Guido and John. Most of the examples given in the *Micrologus* are choral chants, although, like the *Musica enchiriadis*, one passage from a Sequence is included. The single example from the *De musica* is an Antiphon, a Benedictine chant, in which the whole chant, both the solo and choral sections, is in organum.

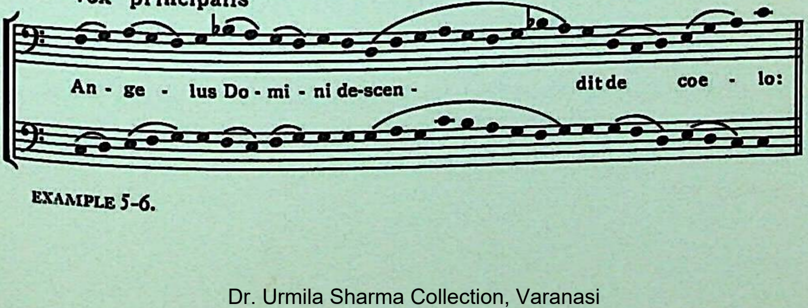
To this point, all of our information comes from monastic treatises and the written examples we have are part of these works. Taken as a group, these treatises suggest the following conclusions: 1) Organum was originally peculiar to monastery churches, used most often in the chants more usual there, those of the Hours being of particular importance. 2) Within the monastery, organum was performed chorally, with many singers on a part. 3) Organum was an improvised technique, not needing written form because of the rather limited possibilities set by both the theoretical rules and the practical difficulties of choral improvisation. 4) As seen in the problems of the perfect fourth and its classification as a consonance, speculative theory had begun to find opposition in the face of practical experience.

Practical sources

With the later eleventh century, practical musical sources—manuscripts containing composed organum—began to appear, principally from France and England. The contents of these volumes, together with later theoretical treatises, indicate that the era of composed organum had begun and that the place of polyphony within the liturgy was no longer to be restricted to primarily monastic chants. Most of our sources now show greater ties to the cathedral than to the monastery and indicate that the great innovations in polyphonic technique no longer stem from the cloister, but from choir schools attached to public churches. Even the theoretical works show something of this, for, although many continue to be produced by regular clergy, more and more of them come from outside these centers; of these, one describing twelfth-century practice is written in French, implying strongly the new atmosphere. If written for the usual audience of preceding times, it would have been in Latin by necessity.

The major changes, in the function of polyphony, that came with the eleventh century are tied to two new developments. The first of these is the change from a choral to a soloistic repertoire. The insertion of counterpoint within the liturgy is now limited to those passages prescribed for performance by a cantor, not those for the choir. No chant was thus completely set in organum, choral plainchant now alternating with polyphony. In addition, when counterpoint was added to solo sections of the chant, by its very nature it continued to be performed by soloists, thereby retaining the soloist-choir dichotomy originally in liturgical monophony. The restriction of polyphony to solo sections does not rest alone on the liturgical shape of the music because, whether improvised or composed, the new organum was of such technical difficulty that it required greater skill and training. The average choir member was not able to cope with the new developments. The soloists, on the other hand, were specially selected and musically educated products of the *schola cantorum;* it was for them that many of the treatises of the time were prepared, treatises emphasizing the new techniques to the detriment of the older speculative elements.

Just as certain poets and musicians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had used the Alleluia as the springboard for their own extensions, so did composers of the same period begin their experiments with the new organum in the same way. In the eleventh century, it was already the custom at Chartres to use organum in the Alleluia chants for Epiphany, Easter Day, the week following Easter, the Assumption, the Feast of St. Augustine, and the Feast of St. Martin; all these days were of sufficient importance to require polyphony as a distinguishing feature. Thirteen of these eleventh-century Alleluia settings were inserted into two ninth-century manuscripts at Chartres, with five in notation sufficiently clear to be deciphered today. We give here the opening of the Verse to the Alleluia for Easter (*LU*, 786):



EXAMPLE 5-6.

The extreme freedom used by the composer in his choice of intervals is immediately apparent. Not only are all the previously mentioned intervals employed, but there is even a major sixth on the penultimate note. The perfect fourth is still a preferred interval, but there is also a surprising succession of three thirds that come where one might have more properly expected fourths. The use of a cadential unison or octave at the end of each word is not to be overlooked, nor is the beginning of each on a perfect fourth. Finally, the added voice should be sung through separately. If this is done, it becomes clear that the composer's goal was not one of providing a secondary musical line against which to set off the beauty of the given chant. His hope was rather to provide a second melody of the same quality as the *vox principalis*, of the same artistic meaning as the fundamental chant. Contrary motion, parallel motion, free choice of intervals, clear cadences—all have entered into the achievement of this goal.

The largest source of eleventh-century organum is one of the two manuscripts known collectively as the *Winchester Tropers*, containing over 150 two-voice compositions. Unfortunately, the notation is at present undecipherable and little can be said specifically about the technique employed, except that there is evidence of crossing voices and contrary motion. In general, however, the *vox principalis* is below the *vox organalis*, a position that it occupied henceforth. With this change of position, the ornamenting voice takes on an importance that indicates something of the place of the new organum; the process that we see already beginning in the Chartres manuscript, the raising of the added line from a position of support to one of equality, is later carried forward to a new point of departure, wherein this new material will become of greater artistic interest than the given chant on which it is superimposed. While this development is still embryonic in the *Winchester Tropers* and not clear because of notational difficulties, it is a first step in the chain of events that led to the magnificent achievements of the thirteenth century, the overfulfillment of the liturgical function by the demands of artistic expression and the submergence of functional plainchant under its contrapuntal superstructure.

In spite of the English provenance of the *Winchester Tropers*, the basic source of the organum style is probably French, from the North, possibly Fleury. The monophonic repertoire within the sources reflects a strong influence of that center and it is known that connections between England and the Continent were quite close; William the Conqueror had requested the aid of French monks in the reform of monastic music and, in at least one case, brought over a French monk to take charge of an English monastery, that at Glastonbury. The organal repertoire is perhaps not all French, but, in view of the origins of the monophonic material, it seems logical to assume that the models for its creation came from France; a later source, a table of contents of a now lost manuscript of the twelfth century, names a W[illiam?] of Winchester as a composer of organum, indicating the growth of a native production, not imported.

The contents of the organal sections show clearly the effort to provide material for the general service of the most important days, Christmas, Easter, and Epiphany, among others. Twelve Kyries and eight Glorias, all troped, are set, indicating a turn to the Ordinary of the Mass, although there are no organa to either the Sanctus or Agnus; the insecure liturgical place of the Credo accounts for its non-inclusion. The largest part of the collection is the 73 Alleluia-Tract settings, covering the liturgical year, followed in number by 51 Responsories; other elements include the Invitatory (3), processional Antiphon (3), Sequence (12), and Easter Introit Trope from the early Liturgical Drama (3). Evidently, the same urge that led to a systematic provision of monophony in the early Church has been at work here, but now with the use of polyphony; though the results are incomplete, the plan is clear.

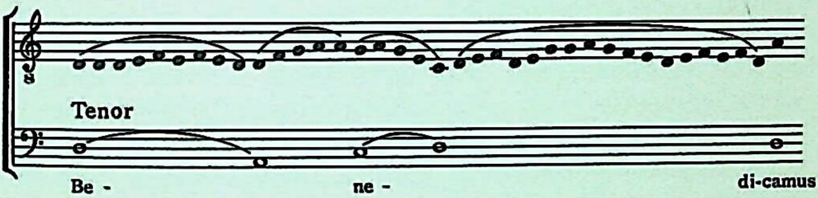
In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the major role in the development or organum belongs to the monastery of St. Martial at Limoges, a center already mentioned in our discussion of the history of the troubadour movement. Under a succession of gifted abbots, St. Martial became a leading artistic center in almost every area including poetry, fine arts, and music; at the beginning of the twelth century, its library was the second largest of any monastery in France.

Among the twenty-three volumes known collectively as the St. Martial Tropers, there are four manuscripts, three in Paris and one in London, containing organa. These include 76 polyphonic items in all, with some duplications from one source to another. As in the Winchester Tropers, one manuscript, the oldest and from the late eleventh century, presents its five organa in a notational guise that cannot allow transcription into modern form with complete security. The notation used in the other three, from the middle twelfth century, is more certain, although there are difficulties in understanding the relations between groups of notes occurring simultaneously in the given melody and its added line; even though many scholars have assumed a rhythmic performance like that in secular melodies of the same time, the notation itself contains no indications of such a possibility.

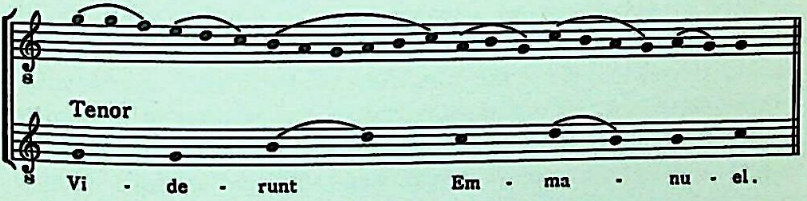
The repertoire within these four manuscripts, both monophonic and polyphonic, shows the high place given to what we have labeled accretions to the liturgy. There is heavy emphasis on the Sequence, troped parts of the Mass Ordinary (the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus), as well as tropings of the Proper (the Gradual and Epistles). Conductus makes up a large part of the repertoire, not only some composed as processionals, but also others written for special occasions, such as a New Year's greeting of the choir to its cantor. There is even a conductus of censure, a condemnation of evil customs of the day, a rarity at the time. The liturgical drama is not overlooked, and there are numerous tropes on the Benedicamus Domino, as well as a handful of items that also appear in the *Carmina Burana*. While not all these types are found in the polyphonic works, the organa reflect this emphasis on the artistic derivations of the liturgy; only one item, a Benedicamus, appears in a pure form, without trope.

The major contribution of the School of St. Martial is the solution of the problem of organal counterpoint, setting up the basis on which the future development of polyphonic techniques was to build. We have already noted John of Affligem's reference to the possibility of using two or three notes in the *vox organalis* to one in the *vox principalis*. Composers of St. Martial, amplifying this simple procedure, began to take the given chant and stretch its length many times, while adding a *duplum*, the now customary name for the newly composed voice, of many notes above it; melismata of twenty notes above a held tone are not uncommon. This new method, referred to as *organum* style by the theorists of the time, amounts to a suppression of the musical nature of the original plainchant in favor of the artistic possibilities inherent in the new style of duplum. The term now used for the given chant foundation reflects this new attitude, for it is no longer called the *vox principalis*, but the *tenor*, its name deriving from "tenere" ("to hold out"); its designation is no longer taken from its liturgical place, but is based on its artistic and technical function. In its new situation, it is not the principal voice, for that position is now held by the added voice or voices.

Together with organum style, the older note-against-note technique, now known as *discantus* style, continued. Unlike the approach found in the Chartres manuscript, where the goal was to imitate the characteristics of chant in the added voice, the discantus of St. Martial followed the lead of organum style in differentiating between the tenor and the discantus; it is guided more by the technical need for voice leading, with consonances at appropriate points. In addition, it was not always necessary to maintain a strict note-against-note relation. Short units of two and three notes may be introduced into the duplum against one in the tenor, thus providing artistic variety. Both styles, organum and discantus, may appear in the same work, most frequently in the troped Benedicamus chants. Conductus, because of its essentially syllabic character, is normally set in discantus style. We append here two short examples of the styles, the first in organum, the second in elaborated discantus.



EXAMPLE 5-7.



EXAMPLE 5-8.

Whether or not the practices of St. Martial were of great influence on the flowering of polyphony at Notre Dame in Paris during the following century is a still unsolved problem. Even though there are many evidences of common approach, it is not possible to say definitely that the great School of Notre Dame is a direct outgrowth of that of St. Martial; no work in the St. Martial repertoire appears in that of Notre Dame. A more probable influence of St. Martial is that on Spain and, indirectly, on England.

The Spanish relationship to St. Martial is suggested by the Codex

Calixtinus from Santiago de Compostella, a manuscript from around 1140 containing twenty organa in addition to many monophonic works. It is a product of the high place of Compostella as a center for pilgrimage; it was believed that St. James the Apostle had died there and his reputed bones were exposed for veneration within the Cathedral. Visitors from all over Europe, particularly from France, were numerous. This is reflected in the manuscript, for many pieces are prefaced by the names of French ecclesiastical dignitaries, implying that these men may well have been the composers; in all probability, the names were added later for purposes of prestige and no more. The style of the polyphonic pieces is clearly relatable to the practices of St. Martial, as is the liturgical repertoire generally. The most interesting feature of the manuscript is the presence of what is believed to be the oldest piece of real three-voice organum as distinguished from that achieved by voice duplication; it is, typically enough, a troped Benedicamus.

In view of the presence of many English pilgrims at Compostella, one may presume that the nine organa found in a twelfth-century source now in Cambridge were derived through Spanish contact, if not directly. In style they follow the continental model closely, using the techniques developed by St. Martial. The repertoire is much the same, relying heavily upon various troped elements and conductus.

In summary, the latter part of the twelfth century saw the establishment of polyphony as a major force within the music of the church. While its rhythmic elements were not yet clearly defined—a task to be taken up by the musicians of Paris and, in particular, Notre Dame—the basic understanding of the relation of the newly composed material to its plainchant foundation had been firmly established. A definition of style had been made and an exploration of its artistic possibilities had been started. There had also been a final definition of polyphony as a soloistic art, relying on the trained musician and educated specialist. Most important, however, is the new place of plainchant, no longer the center of musical interest, but solely the starting point for the new contrapuntal structures.

To some extent, polyphony as we see it in the late twelfth century has begun its attack upon the liturgical character of music, for, with its introduction and its elaboration, the basic function of plainchant has been altered. It might be overstatement to say that polyphony had destroyed the function of music within the church, the close relationship among the text, the liturgical act, and the music, but it may be suggested that the process had begun. While the ostensible purpose for the introduction of organum had been for the enhancement of the services, it is evident that composers were already beginning to go far beyond this point, driven on by their artistic urge for expression. While the Church did not then recognize the danger, encouraging the new music in every way, it was not to be long until complaints were registered over what intelligent ecclesiastics could see was a usurpation. By the end of the thirteenth century, the consequences of what had been developed by St. Martial would be understood as the dangers to liturgy that they were.

Bibliography

Most of the sources connected with the early history of polyphony have been mentioned previously. Unfortunately for the average reader, most research in this area has been done by German scholars, men such as Jacques Handschin and Friedrich Ludwig, whose works have not been translated into English. For the student who can read German, the best survey is that given by Ludwig in Guido Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1930). There is also a great deal of information in Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), although the approach is naturally limited geographically.

6

The School of Notre Dame

To the middle of the twelfth century, the history of polyphony is difficult to trace with any real continuity. No one area can be singled out as that of primary leadership and guidance, for we have no evidence of any sequence of interrelationships in polyphony's development and spread through Europe. Those who describe early polyphony, the theorists, come from all parts of the continent and are concerned with local practice. The purely musical sources, those including compositions, seem not to have been known outside the circumscribed area for which they were originally prepared. In the case of St. Martial, a degree of influence on Spain and England has been suggested, but there is no secure evidence except on stylistic grounds; there is no bit of repertoire that appears in sources coming from other places, either at the same time or later. Polyphony thus appears to have grown in various centers and at various times, without cross-connections from one locality to another. Solutions to musical and artistic problems posed by organum were resolved in restricted areas; they do not seem to have been carried over into the music of other centers. To this point, polyphony can be considered as but a provincial art and little more.

With the mid-twelfth century, the first truly universal musical leadership makes its appearance. The rise of a school of composition centering in Paris and, in particular, at the Cathedral of Notre Dame is the beginning of the henceforth normal domination of musical style and technique by representatives of one area. Not only did the procedures, as worked out by musicians from this center, become the standard for those from others, but their specific works were copied again and again into non-Parisian sources, ranging to points as distant as Scotland and Spain. A hundred years after their composition certain works were still part of a living repertoire, for they were still being copied for performance purposes.

Why this should have come about may be, in part, explained by the position of Paris itself during the latter half of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As an educational center, Paris then had no equal, for the University of Paris, although recognized only around 1173, had grown to a position of scholastic preëminence. Such teachers as St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Peter Abelard (1079-1142), John of Salisbury (d. 1180) and Peter Lombard (d. 1163) had early attracted the best minds of all Europe; a contemporary remarked, "The Italians have the Papacy, the Germans the Empire; the French have Education." The brilliance of the University alone has been enough to justify the naming of this period by some historians as the "Renaissance" of the twelfth century.

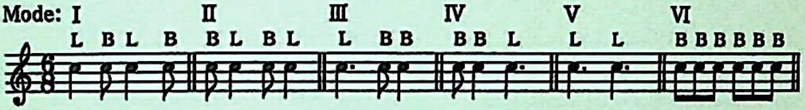
The University, however, was not all that made Paris a leading city, for the political situation in France had been stabilized under Louis VI (1081-1137) and Louis VII (1119-1180). With the able counsel of Suger (1081?-1151), the Abbot of St. Denis, both Kings were able to concentrate power in their own hands and to make Paris, their capital, the chief city of France. It was during their reigns that the major Gothic monuments of Paris were started; the Church of St. Denis (begun 1136) and the new Cathedral of Notre Dame (begun 1163) are but two of the great achievements. With Philippe Augustus (1165-1223), the advances made under the two earlier Kings were continued. During his rule, Paris became the cultural center of all Europe, attracting students and visitors from all parts of the continent.

It was in this climate that the musical advances made by Notre Dame musicians began. There had long been a choir school attached to the Cathedral; Peter Lombard, while Bishop of Paris, had done much to support it and to make it an integral part of the University. John of Salisbury, from his own account, attended performances of the choir at Notre Dame and, to judge by his description, heard it in the polyphony for which it was to become famous. Other visitors also report on it and make it evident that it was a major attraction of the city. With this school as a model, other churches of Paris began to emulate Notre Dame, so that, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, what we now call the Notre Dame repertoire is, in reality, that of the Cathedral and many other churches as well; a better term for the period might well be that of the School of Ile-de-France, although it does not suggest the primacy of Notre Dame as a generating force.

The notation of rhythm

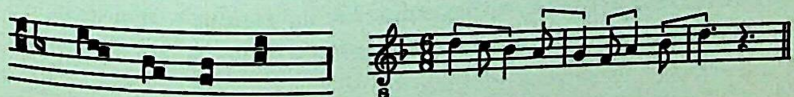
In previous discussion of both monophony and polyphony, the peculiar difficulties over the nature and employment of rhythm have been mentioned. While we may be fairly certain that some form of rhythmic differentiation between notes existed in performance, the notation of the music itself offers no clear indications what was done. The rhythmic transcriptions that have been made have, in general, been based on the nature of the text or upon the application of certain basic rhythmic patterns to the notes; the results cannot be guaranteed. Even in those cases where a rhythmic interpretation may be founded on some few notational variations, as in certain St. Martial works, there are never enough of them to make the results positive.

It is in this area that Notre Dame made one of its major technical contributions, a system whereby the performer would have a guide to the rhythmic characteristics of a composition. This system, whose foundations were laid by Leonin, the first great Notre Dame composer and master of its choir around 1160, is based on a set of six basic rhythmic patterns, known as the rhythmic modes. These patterns, indicated by the notation, were to be applied by the performer in a more or less fixed manner to the melody. In essence, the rhythmic modes are various arrangements of long and short values, corresponding to various poetic meters; indeed, it is now believed that the major inspiration for this method was derived by Leonin from his study of St. Augustine's *De musica*, a treatise on metrics. These six patterns of *longae* and *breves* (the Latin terms for long and short notes) follow:



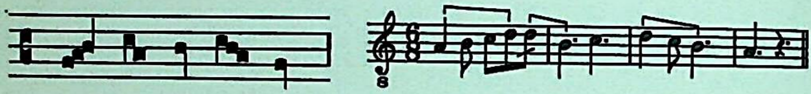
EXAMPLE 6-1.

The performer's understanding of the proper pattern to be applied was gained from inspection of how the notes had been grouped in the notation. Plainchant had already long used figures that placed into one shape two or more notes, but had normally used these without great plan or purpose, except to indicate, in a general way, those groups to be sung to the same syllable. Leonin, on the other hand, employed these groups, now called ligatures, to direct the performer to the correct rhythmic mode. If, for example, the particular melody was to be performed in the first mode, the ligatures were written in such a way to give a grouped pattern of a three-note ligature at the beginning followed by a series of twos; second mode was indicated by the reverse, i.e., a series of two-note ligatures closed by a three. The other modes also had their own individual patterns, not like each other, so that identification would, as much as possible, be certain. To show the system on its simplest level, we give a short phrase in the first rhythmic mode, followed by its transcription into modern notation (the brackets above the notes in transcription indicate the original ligature pattern):



EXAMPLE 6-2.

Variations within the individual patterns could be made in various ways, by adding an extra note to a ligature, by taking the notes of ligatures and writing them as separate or simple notes (*simplices*), or by adding a tail up or down (*plica:* indicated in transcription by a slash through the stem of the note) to a *simplex* or to the last note of a ligature; in this way, the various modes might be provided with notes longer than normally found (*extensio modi*) or with short notes gotten by dividing a normal note into two smaller parts (*fractio modi*). The following phrase, with transcription, illustrates the variety possible within the first mode; similar variety is obtainable in the other five:



EXAMPLE 6-3.

In addition, the composer was not limited to one rhythmic mode throughout a composition, for shifts from one to another were possible, provided that a rest of some kind intervened. A piece might begin in the first mode, and, at the conclusion of a section, marked by the presence of a rest, begin anew in second mode.

Our knowledge of the workings of this system is, like that for earlier practice, based mainly on the writings of various theorists who describe more or less clearly the methods used. One of the most useful volumes for the study of modal notation and later notation as well is a compendium prepared by a Bohemian priest, Jerome of Moravia, around 1272. Jerome seems to have been a teacher in the Dominican cloister of St. Jacques in Paris, working within the framework of the University. His compilation is of particular value, showing not only what were the contents of a typical medieval university course in music, but also giving in chronological order four treatises by other authors—treatises that, by their contents, give an overall history of the advances made and techniques of notation used at various periods. The earliest of the four describes practices of the late twelfth century; the latest, procedures from Jerome's own times.

A second source of value is a treatise written by an anonymous

Englishman around 1280. From internal evidence, he was a student at the University of Paris and was interested not only in the theory of music, but also in its practice. It is through information given by him that we know something of the achievements of Leonin; no other sources name him or discuss his work. This English student is usually referred to as Anonymous IV, for his treatise was first printed in a modern version around the mid-nineteenth century by the French scholar, Edmond de Coussemaker, as the fourth in a series of anonymous treatises.

Sources

In comparison with the paucity of musical sources for the early history of polyphony, that for the era using modal notation is well supplied. In addition to three large sources, there are many smaller ones, all containing items from the great repertoire developed by the early School of Notre Dame and indicating by their reliance upon that repertoire the immense influence spreading out from Paris. The oldest of the three major sources in its versions and notation is that found today in Wolfenbüttel at the Herzogliche Bibliothek under the call number 677. Although probably prepared in St. Andrews, Scotland, in the fourteenth century, it is that which seems closest to Leonin and his time, in spite of its comparatively late date; in the literature it is referred to as W^1. A second manuscript, from France of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, is also preserved in the same library; its call number is 1206 and it is given the short reference W^2. The third major source is a French manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, from the end of the thirteenth century; its *siglum* is F. All three are fairly extensive and include, in addition to the material in modal notation, much music from a later date, when notational methods had begun to change.

Of the subsidiary manuscripts, the most inclusive is that found today in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, with the call number 20468 and reference as Ma; it is of Spanish provenance and is from the fourteenth century. Other important sources are preserved in libraries in Munich, London, and Paris, but, while of value in the study of the period, their contents are generally not as wide in either number or variety as those of the three manuscripts cited first.

The work of Leonin

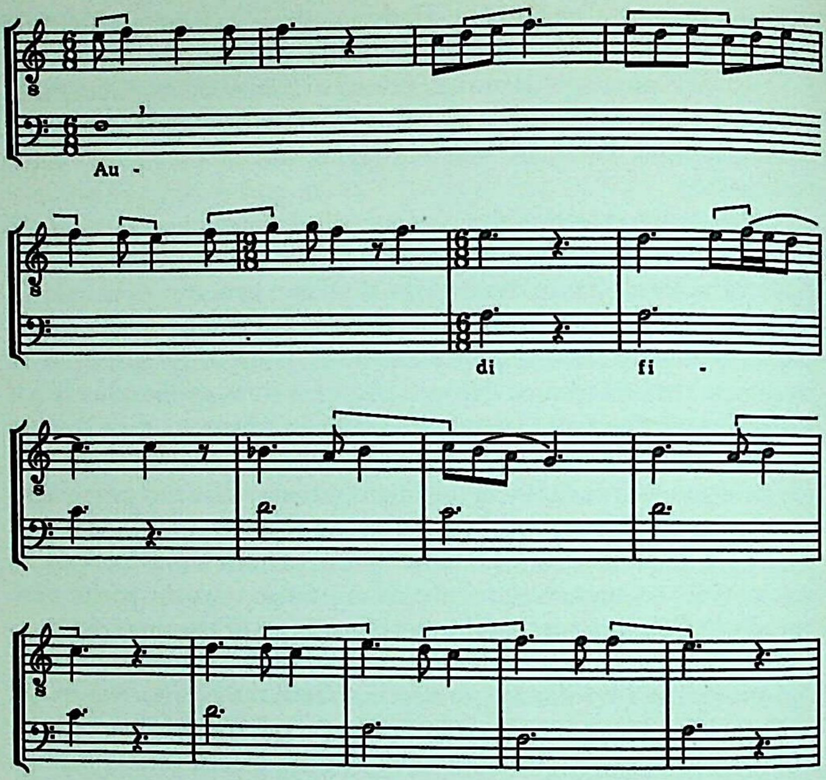
In writing of the musical situation at Paris, Anonymous IV, the English student, states that ". . . And note that Master Leonin . . . was the best composer of organa, a man who composed a great book (*Magnus Liber*) of organum based on the Graduale and Antiphonale, for the enlargement of the divine service. . . ." Within this statement lies the key to Leonin's greatness, for it was he who began the systematic expansion of the new organum into the whole of the repertoire. In its reconstructed form, based on the three main manuscripts and what is probably the oldest version, the *Magnus Liber* includes 13 pieces for the Hours and 33 works for the Mass. Both sections begin with works for Christmas and continue into the liturgical year, providing not only items for the major feast days but also works for various other occasions. The emphasis in the material for the Hours is placed on various Processional Responsories, while that in the Mass stresses the Gradual and Alleluia, the two chants already singled out as especially suitable for polyphonic treatment by their soloistic character.

All of the works in the *Magnus Liber* are for two voices and reflect the division into the two styles previously described, organum and discantus. Only those portions of the chant liturgically designed for solo performance by the cantor are set polyphonically; the choral parts are to be sung in plainchant as before. Thus, these works begin with a polyphonic movement and are then interrupted by the plainchant areas, to return again to polyphony wherever a solo section begins again. The commencement of each polyphonic section is in organum style, with the tenor held out under a long melismatic flourish by the duplum; this last, in the works of Leonin, is always in the first rhythmic mode, for he used no other in the dupla of his works. Within the body of the organum, there are contrasting sections in discantus style, most often corresponding to those places where the basic plainchant is melismatic. Here, the duplum does not fall into the classification of discantus in the manner defined by St. Martial, that is, with note against note; instead, it continues its elaborations around the first mode, while the tenor proceeds in a series of notes of equal rhythmic value, in units occupying one or two beats of the basic pulse.

It is in this practice that Leonin added a new way of defining organum and discantus, now not in terms of their number of notes against the tenor, but in terms of the rhythmic structure of the tenor. For Leonin, organum style is that in which the tenor is unmeasured, that is, without a fixed length and held to a point of agreement in its close with the ornamented duplum. Discantus style, on the other hand, is that where the tenor is measured, that is, where its note lengths may be defined in small rhythmic units. In both cases, the duplum is the same, written basically in the first rhythmic mode and proceeding in this manner throughout the work. To make the coincidence of tenor and duplum clear, the music within the sources is notated in score, with the duplum above the tenor; in this way, the performers have little difficulty making the correspondence of the two voices.

Within the sections or *clausulae* of organa, Leonin sets off major cadential points by coming to rest on either the octave, unison, or perfect fifth. There are also points of lesser cadence or places where both voices have simultaneous rests. In these places, other intervals may appear, the perfect fourth or the major third, for example; these are, however, quite rare, for Leonin maintains the primacy of the three perfect intervals mentioned as those best for points of rest. Beginnings of organa are often ornamented with an accented appoggiatura from a major or minor seventh leading into the octave; this type of opening acts as a flourish to catch attention. Certain organa also see this used at internal cadences, as a way of emphasis. As to beginnings after cadences, Leonin is not as strict in his choice of intervals as at the cadences proper; the perfect fourth appears frequently here, together with the third and sixth, this last normally as an accented appoggiatura into the fifth.

All of these points may be seen in the given example, the opening of the Verse, "Audi filia," from the Gradual, "Propter veritatem," for August 15, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary:



EXAMPLE 6-4. Reprinted by permission of the Yale University Press from *The Rhythm of Twelfth Century Polyphony*, by William G. Waite. Copyright 1954 by Yale University Press.

With Leonin's work, the process of elimination of the melodic function of the tenor is complete. With its arrangement of voices and the rhythmically organized character of the duplum, Leonin's organum has obscured the original purpose of the chant to such a point that it is now important only as a starting point for the addition of the second voice. By its subservience to the rhythmic mode, the duplum has also made clean its break with the past, for it is clear that Leonin's goal is far different from that of the composer of the earlier works in the Chartres manuscript; there is no desire to imitate the outlines of chant in the added duplum. Indeed, inspection of many organa from the *Magnus Liber* shows again and again the presence of melodic formulae that suggest certain musical concepts peculiar to this kind of musical work and without relation to others; many of these melodic patterns are triadic, something not heard in chant melodies.

Later composers added to the *Magnus Liber*, almost doubling it in size. Their additions can usually be identified by the presence of modes other than the first, as well as by more highly organized tenor patterns. As with Leonin, their aim was the introduction of polyphony into those services of higher importance and the provision of organa for the full liturgical year. In spite of the developments that came later, the original plan was Leonin's and the inspiration was his; he must be considered one of the great musical minds of all time.

The work of Perotin

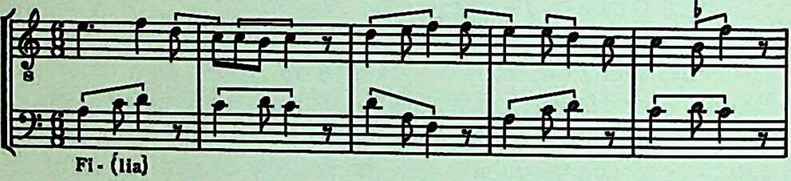
The quotation from Anonymous IV given above continues: "And it [the *Magnus Liber*] was in use up to the time of Perotin the Great, who abbreviated it and made many better clausulae or points [sections in counterpoint], since he was the best composer of discantus and better than Leonin was. . . ." From these remarks, it is clear that one of Perotin's major accomplishments was the revision of Leonin's work, substituting clausulae in discantus style for those originally written in organum style or shortening older sections in discantus by providing newer ones.

That there was a need for this kind of curtailment is obvious, since the length of the original chant, by its performance in the extended values required in organum style, had become intolerably long. Although the chants set had been those of primarily musical interest, without associated liturgical acts, there was evidently a feeling that, by their now increased length, a certain liturgical balance had been disturbed and that equilibrium could only be restored by reducing the time consumed. There was no question of removing polyphony, by now well established and approved; there could be no possibility of cutting the length of the basic chant by removal of some of its notes. The problem was then one of condensation of the duplum by pruning it of excessive elaboration.

These substitute clausulae are found in abundance in all three of our main sources, where they are identified by the words or syllables of the material they are designed to replace. For example, W^1 includes four of these substitute clausulae with the one syllable, "Go."

These were composed to replace music in the organum, "Benedicta. Virgo dei genitrix." Why so many substitute clausulae have been provided for chants that would be, because of their place in the Proper, performed but once a year has not yet been clarified; F alone contains over 450 of these substitutes, not only in discantus style but also in recomposed organum, enough to provide alternatives for each basic organum of the *Magnus Liber* many times over.

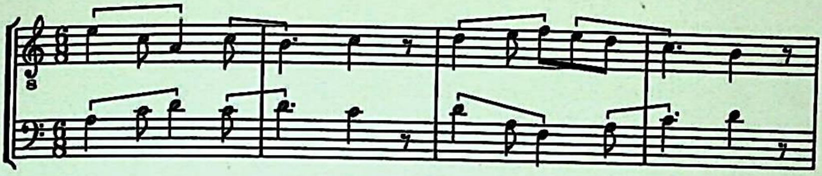
As a sample of the process, we give the beginning of a substitute clausula for "Filia," to be used as a replacement within the organum of the previous example; this particular clausula is from W¹, where it is the second of two for the same piece:



EXAMPLE 6-5.

Perotin's most important development is the extension of the use of rhythmic modes within the tenor. In the work of Leonin, discantus sections find the tenor normally in fifth mode; Perotin uses all six modes. Within the duplum, Leonin had used only the first mode; here too, Perotin employs all six. The result of Perotin's innovations within the clausula is that both voices are now of rhythmic interest and that there is what we might call rhythmic counterpoint. Just as variety had been previously achieved by the opposition of one voice, the duplum, moving somewhat rapidly against longer values in the tenor, so now additional variety could be gained through the application of duplum techniques to the tenor.

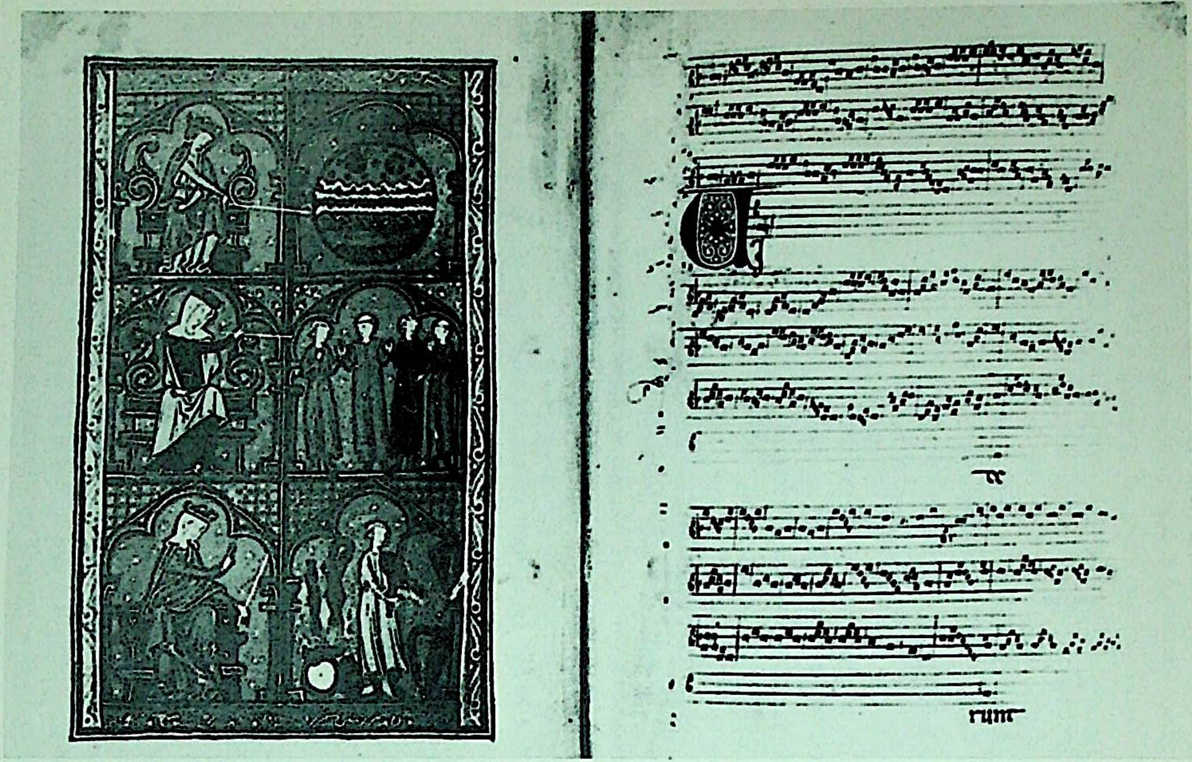
Although, if we are to take the word of Anonymous IV, the eventual goal was the abbreviation of organum, Perotin and his followers found that excessive shortening by the application of shorter rhythmic patterns did not allow sufficient scope for musical development. Thus, in many substitute clausulae, there is repetition of the tenor, either literally or in new patterns. The "Filia" clausula, whose beginning is given above, portrays this, for, after the whole chant section on which the clausula is based is given once in the three-note pattern shown, it is repeated in a six-note scheme; the variety achieved by this altered repetition is evident:



EXAMPLE 6-6.

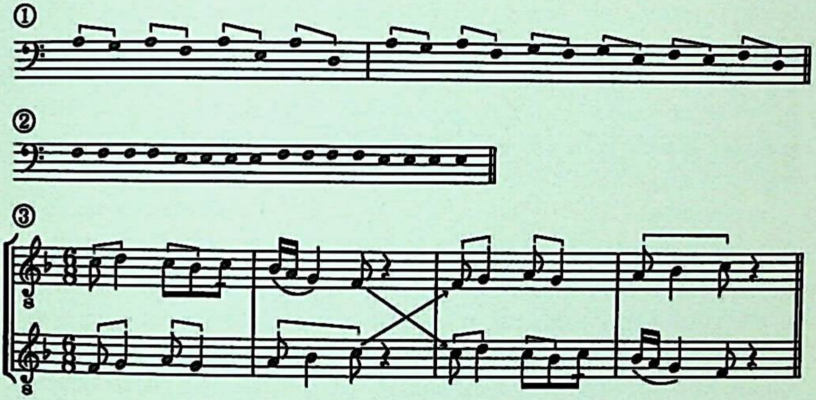
Together with stylistic expansion of two-voice organa through substitution and recomposition within the work of Leonin, Perotin enlarged the framework of organa by adding one or two voices to the contrapuntal web. His two four-voice organa, "Viderunt," the Gradual for Christmas, and "Sederunt," that for the feast of St. Stephen (December 26), were singled out for special notice by Anonymous IV; "Viderunt" appears in both W^1 and F as the opening work, with "Sederunt" immediately following, indicating their importance to medieval musicians. Both works can be dated with some degree of accuracy, for edicts of Bishop Eude de Sully of Notre Dame indicate that "Viderunt" is of 1198 and "Sederunt" is of the following year. Some edicts specify the use of three- and four-voice organa in special places, defining the primary locales as the Responsories and Benedicamus in Vespers, together with the Gradual and Alleluia in the Mass. Certain others include Matins as suitable for polyphony, with particular feasts singled out for special attention. So far as four-voice organa are concerned, the plan was never completed, for, in addition to the two works of Perotin, only one other has survived, "Mors," from the Alleluia for the Fourth Sunday after Easter.

The style of Perotin's four- and three-voice organa is specifically discussed at some length and with approval by Johannes de Garlandia (1195?-1272?), whose treatise is one of those included in the compendium prepared by Jerome of Moravia. The rules for the ornamenting (*colores*) of the upper voices are three in number, corresponding roughly to the rules for the introduction of ornaments into rhetoric; this is not surprising, for Johannes was a grammarian at the University of Paris. The first manner is the repetition of an initial tone through a fifth or through a sequential pattern; this style is best used in three- and four-voice organa. The second method is a "flow-



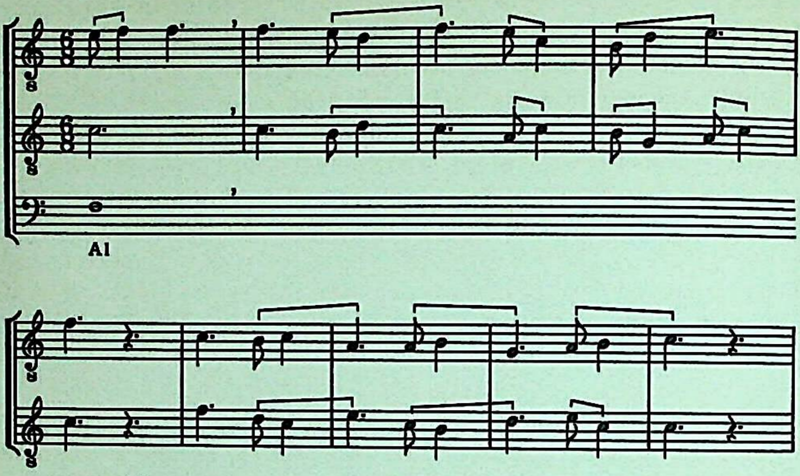
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, folio 1 recto. The music given is the opening of Perotin's organum for the Gradual, "Viderunt," for four voices, to be sung on Christmas Day. The illumination at the left includes a player on the vielle.

ering of the voice" (*florificatio vocis*), the repeating of single notes within a scalewise progression; according to Johannes, this kind of ornamentation is used most often in secular music. The final manner is the exchange of parts, that is, what one voice sings is taken over by the other; this is employed in almost all kinds of polyphony—organa, conductus, and others. All three manners are given in the following example, taken from those given by Johannes within his treatise:



EXAMPLE 6-7.

With these works, it is evident that the function of melody is that of generating a motive, which then is to be treated as a formula-like unit. The equality of the upper voices, their occupying the same range, the repetition of melodic formulae from one voice to the other, and the added drone of the tenor lead to an overall impression of monotony, yet intoxicating in the final effect. The composer's ideal is not the presentation of melody as such, but rather the emphasis on rhythmic patterns that are supported by melodic movement; these patterns are then organized on a large skeleton that can be grasped only by feeling the symmetries from one group of formulae to another; the formula-like nature of the upper parts is shown by the fact that, when the same tenor note reappears in a composition, the upper voices often repeat the material originally found with that note. The opening of Perotin's "Alleluia-Nativitas" indicates the general style; unfortunately, its length forbids complete quotation:



EXAMPLE 6-8.

In addition to Perotin's work as composer of substitute clausulae and three- and four-voice organa, Anonymous IV also cites him as the author of conductus in one, two, and three voices, giving specific titles in each category. As we have noted earlier, although the conductus was originally functionally part of the liturgy, its development was such that it came to be reflective of the non-liturgical side of clerical activity. In the thirteenth century, some liturgical connotation is still to be found, but more and more the emphasis turns to artistic aspects of the music and to non-liturgical subjects for its poetry. Around the beginning of the century, conductus became the cleric's way of commenting on the events of the day, the death of a king or bishop, the election of a pope, the accession of a king, or the seizure of a city in war. Conductus was a clerical art, comparable to that of the troubadour and trouvère in terms of the music of a defined social stratum.

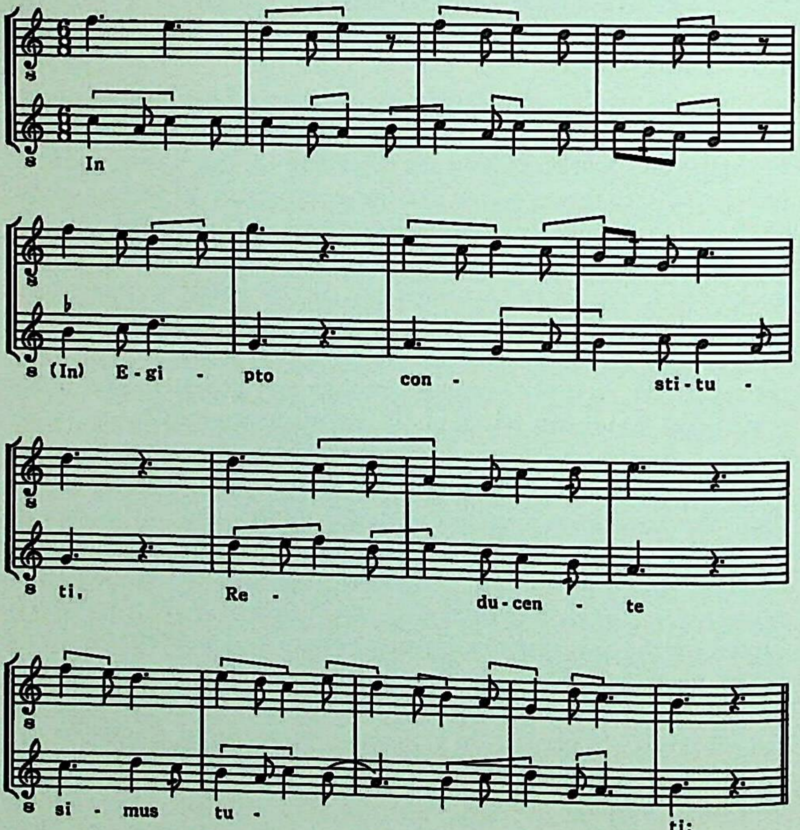
The most engaging feature of polyphony, as applied to conductus, was the complete control of the finished product by the creator. Unlike polyphony which was composed for liturgical purposes, conductus had no given melody on which to erect a superstructure, a distinction made clear by all the theorists of the time. The treatise of Franco of Cologne, also part of Jerome of Moravia's compilation, describes the process of getting the foundation: "Whoever wishes to write conductus should first invent the most beautiful melody that he can: then he should use it like a tenor in making discantus." There is no possibility of employing organum style in writing conductus; this style could only be employed where there was a *cantus prius factus*, a piece of chant already present. There is, in conductus, no contrast between the given material and the composed additions as in organum; all is composed, both foundation melody and overall structure.

The most elaborate variety of conductus is that in which the composer has set his poetic text in a through-composed manner, i.e., with each strophe receiving new music and with non-texted sections acting as contrast. These last, called *caudae* (tails), may appear at the beginning, between strophes, and at the end of conductus and can be identified by their lack of poetry below the music; while it may be that these caudae were performed as instrumental interludes, it is also possible that they were sung, in the manner of a vocalise. On a lower level, there are many conductus without caudae and with the music repeated for each succeeding strophe; Anonymous IV suggests that this group was written for the use of less skilled singers and is of lower artistic merit.

Both in number and complexity, conductus for two voices stand in a higher position, with about 130 preserved examples, as against 60 three-voice works. Within the repertoire for two voices, approximately half are through-composed, the rest set strophically. Caudae are found in all but one of the former group and in two-thirds of the strophic settings. Three-voice conductus does not show this frequency of appearance with caudae and the few with four voices have no caudae. From these facts, it is evident that two-voice conductus with caudae are the most artistically significant types, the centers of the repertoire, to judge from the attention given them. Indeed, many three-voice conductus found in W¹ are modernized in Ma by dropping the uppermost voice, reducing the texture to two voices.

The quotation given above from Franco of Cologne makes it clear that conductus is subject to modal rhythm, for in technique it is a branch of discantus style. The syllabic character of conductus, however, frequently makes it difficult to determine with accuracy exactly which mode is to be applied and in what way. The problem is caused by the fact that the ligature patterns that indicate the mode are by necessity broken up; the syllabic nature of the poetry and its setting by one to four notes to the syllable do not allow for an extended series of ligatures. In conductus with caudae, the mode can normally be presumed to be that which is set by the ligature patterns seen there, although one will always find places where it will be difficult to determine exactly how the pattern is to be applied. For those conductus without caudae, the only possible guide, not always a safe one, is the metric pattern of the text. No matter the final results within the transcription, there can be no certainty; this difficulty of indicating accurately the proper rhythmic mode was to lead to further notational developments to take care of the problem. We will discuss this further in speaking of the motet, like the conductus a category based on syllabic settings.

As an example of how the problem may be solved, as well as a sample of the style, we insert here the beginning of one strophe of the conductus, "Gaude virgo virginum," in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The opening section is the cauda, evidently in the first rhythmic mode; this mode is then applied to the beginning of the strophe, at the point where the word "In" has been inserted in brackets:


In
(In) E - gi - pto con - sti - tu - ti, Re - du - cen - te si - mus tu - ti;

EXAMPLE 6-9.

While the greater part of the sources of early Notre Dame are devoted to the categories mentioned (organum for Vespers and Matins, the Gradual, and the Alleluia of the Proper of the Mass, as well as conductus), certain other forms are also represented, forms already noticed as important for the accretions to the liturgy. Among these other items, there are polyphonic Sequences, troped parts of the Ordinary, the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, and a handful of Offertories. All these emphasize the expansion of polyphony into those areas originally explored by musicians working with monophony. They indicate the concept that no part of the liturgy should be considered as incapable of polyphonic elaboration, except those chants reserved for performance by the choir. By the end of the century, even this restriction no longer applied and composers felt free to use polyphony at their own discretion, without reference to liturgical custom.

The motet

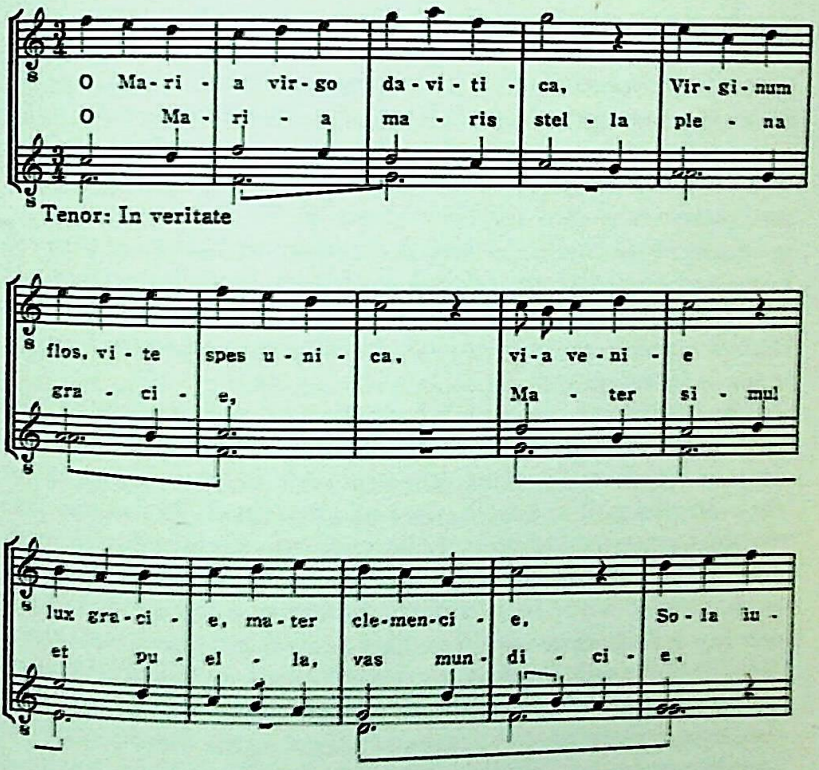
In speaking of the work of Perotin and his immediate successors, we have noted a concentration of compositional energies upon the substitute clausula, that small form designed to abbreviate organum by the replacement of organum-style sections by others in discantus. By their character as separate sections, these clausulae have completeness as musical entities, without close relation to their liturgical position except in the tenor's use of a liturgically placed bit of plainchant. From their plentifulness in the sources, we may properly assume that they must have often been performed separately and at times not necessarily in keeping with their functional role as a portion of liturgically oriented organum; if an abbreviating substitute had been all that was required, there would have been no real reason to compose more than one clausula for each organum piece needing shortening. A substitute, if written solely for liturgical purposes, would have been capable of but one performance each year.

Without a text, except that set by the liturgical tenor, there could be little meaning in separate performance. To solve this problem, to give the substitute clausula validity as an isolated work, composers of Perotin's time, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, turned to a technique already used in a similar situation in the past, the technique of the trope. Just as words had been added to a pre-existing melody to produce the trope and Sequence, so now words were added to the composed polyphonic voices of the substitute clausula to produce the thirteenth-century *motet;* the name is derived from the French "mot" or "word." As polyphony had acted as a musical troping of a given chant, so the motet in its beginnings developed as a poetic trope added to the results of a musical trope; the medieval reverence for reliance on authority is obvious.

In the earliest motets, the music of the clausula remained the same, while the upper voice or voices received a Latin text that was a paraphrase or glossing of the meaning of the text carried by the plainchant tenor, this last now performed instrumentally. A second stage saw the rise of the double and triple motets, named from the number of differing texts in the upper two or three voices; these too were in Latin and explained the meaning of the tenor's text. In a third stage, the language shifted to French and lost its paraphrase quality, ridding itself of any reference to the tenor. In all of these earliest motets, the music of the original clausula acted as the basic structure for poetic elaboration, just as the Jubilus had served the first Sequences.

The final development within the motet of Perotin's time was the taking over of a clausula for two voices, the troping of the duplum (now called the *motetus*) and the adding of a newly composed third voice in the same musical style. These French double motets mark the change from an originally secondary place as troped clausulae to a new position as independent forms, to be developed without reference to the liturgical background from which they came. With the possibilities opened by the entry of free composition into the motet, the interest in organa and conductus, so strong in the late twelfth century, declined rapidly; after Perotin no new works were added to the repertoire of these forms, the old ones sufficing for all liturgical needs. Indeed, it was not long until the motet was recognized as a superior category, of particular interest for the educated; although it grew, like conductus, out of clerical circles, it soon became the major musical delight of courtly society.

With the establishment of the motet as a distinct category, composers moved on to the problem of giving it a stylistic basis that would rid it of its ties to the clausula. To the middle of the century, the composed French and Latin double motets carried most of the innovations, with the major effort given toward individualization of the three voices, one from the other. The solution finally achieved was based on rhythmic differentiation, giving the tenor a slow movement, the motetus a faster one and the triplum the fastest. The rhythmic modes were not discarded, however, for all three voices remained subject to them. The technique can be seen in the following example, the opening of the Latin double motet, "O Maria virgo—O Maria maris stella—In veritate," based on the version found in the La Clayette manuscript; this source contains a repertoire dating from the second quarter of the century:


O Ma-ri - a vir-go da-vi-ti - ca, Vir-gi-num
O Ma - ri - a ma - ris stel - la ple - na
Tenor: In veritate
flos, vi - te spes u - ni - ca, vi-a ve-ni - e
gra - ci - e, Ma - ter si - mul
lux gra-ci - e, ma-ter cle-men-ci - e, So-la iu -
et pu - el - la, vas mun - di - ci - e.

EXAMPLE 6-10.

The voices here clearly contrast one against the other, the tenor in fifth mode, the motetus in second and the triplum in sixth. The example also indicates a change in performance practice, that the speed of a piece is no longer dependent upon the longa as the metric unit, but is now turning to the brevis as the note value determining the pulse. Our transcription has, therefore, been written with a longa of three breves notated as a dotted half, not the dotted quarter of our earlier examples. Further, another value has been added, the semibrevis, equalling one-half or one-third of the brevis (measure 9 of the triplum), here shown as an eighth.

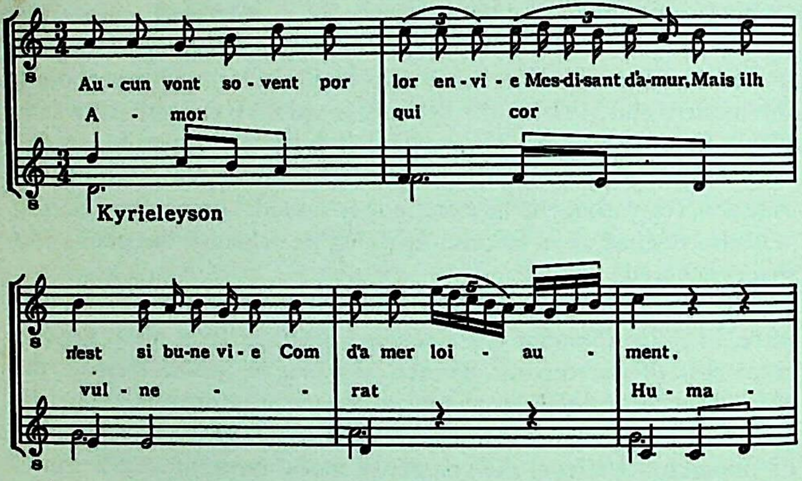
In speaking of conductus, we have already noted the difficulties encountered in the understanding of which rhythmic mode was to be applied in those works without caudae. Like conductus, the motetus and triplum of the motet gave no chance for the performer to recognize the proper mode easily, for there were almost no ligatures left in these voices; in Example 6-10, there are but four in the triplum and but six in the motetus of the entire piece, none of them of great use in defining the rhythmic mode. Only the tenor, because of its melismatic character, could preserve a ligature pattern, and this, because of its slower nature, was usually confined to the fifth mode; a ligature pattern was used for convenience in writing, not always for definition of the mode. As long as the motet had been but a troped clausula, reference to the original or memory of its character would give clues. With newly composed works, this procedure was manifestly impossible; the correct mode would have to be drawn from the music as it was notated.

In addition, the problem became more pressing because, to conserve space, the writing of a composition in score format was soon dropped. If written in score, it was possible to assure agreement of the voices, even if the mode were misinterpreted. But, in this procedure, there would of necessity be much wasted space, for all voices would have to be aligned upon the triplum, the voice with the greatest number of notes; most tripla contain at least three to four times as many as in the tenor and these have a text that requires extra room. The method finally worked out involved the copying of each voice in succession or in what is known as choirbook format; in this last, the triplum is copied above at the left, the motetus above at the right and the tenor below, under both upper voices. To indicate the saving of space by this new method, in the La Clayette manuscript, the complete motet of the preceding example takes ten lines for the triplum, eight for the motetus, and only two for the tenor. Only twenty lines are needed, while at least thirty would have been required to copy the work in score.

The answer to these problems was found in the development of a new approach to rhythmic notation, taking into account the new demands for specification of individual note values, not based upon their place within a ligated group. This new notation, called mensural notation, retained many of the external features of modal notation but defined the relation of individual notes one to the other more or less clearly. With *simplices*, there was an adoption of a specific note form for the particular value desired, so that the longa, brevis, and semibrevis could be distinguished clearly as individual values. The ligature shapes of modal notation were not discarded, however, and, in melismatic passages, were still used with much the same purpose as the modern slur. Within the ligature, in spite of a superficial resemblance to past practice, the same kind of definition was made, altering the shapes slightly to indicate a specific mensural value for the individual notes within the ligature, not as a modal grouping. The rest was also defined as to length, clarifying its value by the number of spaces covered.

By around 1260, the shift to mensural notation was almost complete, in a form known as Franconian notation. Its name is derived from that of the theorist, Franco of Cologne, whose treatise, the *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, is our major source of information. The advances of pre-Franconian notation, while great, had still many areas of ambiguity left from the vestiges of modal notation; it is Franco's treatise that shows the final victory of the notational needs of the motet. Although traces of modal notation can still be found into the early fourteenth century, the system as described by Franco went far to solve the problems caused by the inability of modal notation and its emphasis on groups of notes to cope with the needs of the motet and its stress on the individual note.

So far as musical style is concerned, the developments of the latter half of the thirteenth century were explorations of the new paths opened by composers of the first half. Within the triplum, the process of greater differentiation continued, with the use of the semibrevis now becoming almost constant, rather than an extraordinary insertion. A feature of the motet of the third quarter of the century is the presence of many consecutive groups of semibreves, separated from each other by the device of the point. While at the beginning these groups had been restricted to no more than three semibreves, by the end of the century theorists had begun to talk of the possibility of using anywhere from two to nine semibreves as equivalent in value to one brevis; Pierre de la Croix is mentioned by these writers as the composer responsible, although only two works can be securely attributed to him. Several compositions are preserved, however, that show this increased activity within the triplum; we give the opening of one of them, "Aucun vont sovent—Amor qui cor vulnerat—Kyrieleyson," as found in a manuscript now in Turin:


3/4
Au - cun vont so - vent por lor en - vi - e Mes-di-sant d'a-mur, Mais ilh
A - mor qui cor
3/4
Kyrieleyson
n'est si bu-ne vi - e Com d'a mer loi - au - ment,
vul - ne - - rat Hu - ma -

EXAMPLE 6-11.

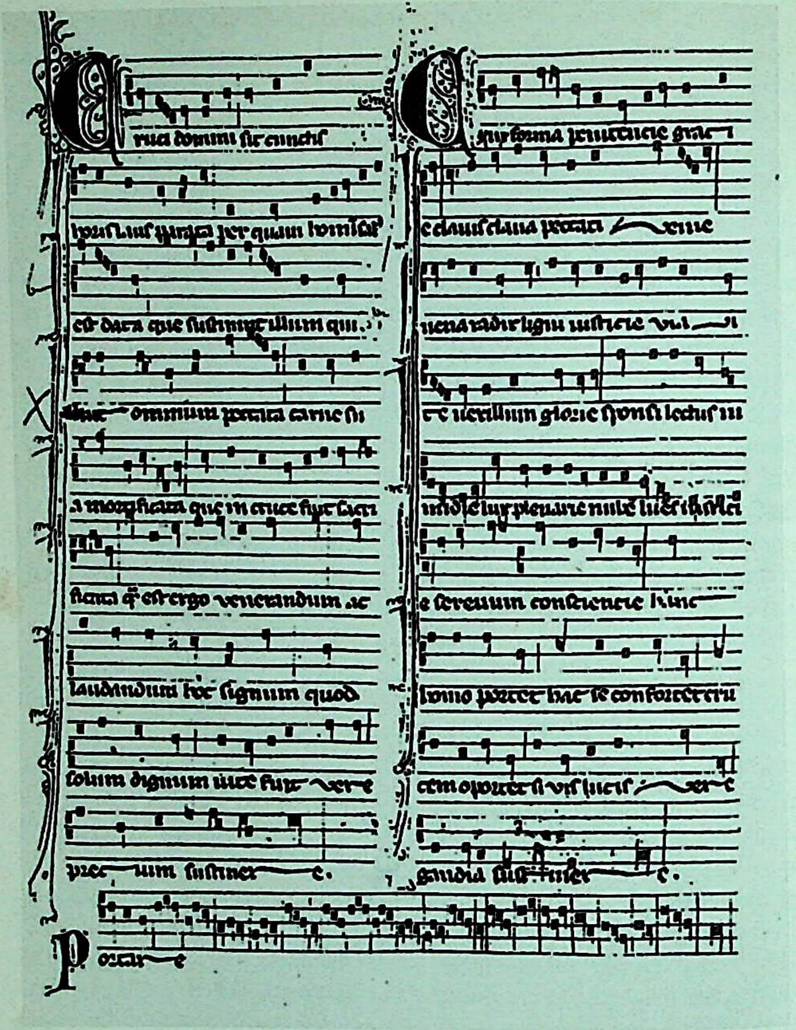
In the example, it will be noted that, in spite of the vast change that has come over the triplum, the motetus and tenor are still subject to modal rhythm (fifth in the tenor, second in the motetus). However, all the drive originally possessed by the rhythmic modes as used by Leonin and Perotin has long disappeared. Because of the intricacy of the triplum, the motet must take its speed from that voice. Thereby the rhythmic vitality of the lower voices is destroyed, for the speed is too slow to preserve it. The most striking musical effect of this reorientation and shift of importance from the tenor to the triplum is the change in character of many tenors. Many now have no longer any pretense of a pattern of their own; instead, they consist of nothing but a series of longae, all of equal value. The tenor of our example is one of these, for it is a series of twenty longae closed by a brevis rest, with a subsequent repetition of the original series.

When there is a tenor pattern, it is not as obvious as those of earlier motets, for it is now longer and has much more variety in note values. Because of the slowness at which it must be sung and the shape of the pattern, the ear is much less aware of the arrangement than with previous tenors.

In the beginning, because of its liturgical origins and its semi-liturgical position, the motet had by definition been based upon a plainchant tenor. By the closing years of the century, this restriction no longer applied and tenors are found to be taken from all kinds of sources. Some works do use a liturgically derived tenor, but fail to identify it, giving instead the simple "Tenor" or "Neumes." Others draw directly upon secular melodies, using them as sources of a *cantus prius factus* as though they were plainchant. Some cite the borrowed secular work completely in its original form; these motets, known as French triple motets, are unusual in that all voices, including the tenor, are sung to full texts and that the motetus and triplum reflect the rhythmic organization of the tenor rather than differentiating themselves from it. Others go to the extreme length of using a free-composed tenor, as in conductus. In many cases, where a tenor is derived from plainchant it may be formally organized into a secular form, complete with refrains.

The tenor is not the only voice to be subjected to secular infiltration, for the other voices show the same kind of intrusions. Pre-existent secular melodies are quoted in many motets with their original texts, either in fragments or complete. The texts themselves become more secular, far more so than those of the earlier French double motets. The later motet sees the appearance of all types of non-liturgical texts, to the point of including many censuring the priesthood and condemning vices then current among clerics; one important source of the late motet, the Fauvel manuscript (Paris, Bib. Nat., fr. 146) dating from 1316, uses this type of motet as its basic constituent. Finally, where the French texts of earlier motets had often been translations of Latin ones, the reverse is now more frequently true.

This invasion of the motet by outside musical influences indicates something of its high position, for, as the center of the repertoire, it acted as a magnet for all kinds of musical expression. Just as it attracted to itself from all sides and from all categories, so also did it furnish something of itself to forms now neglected. We have noted



Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ed. IV. 6, folio 11 recto. The motet given here shows clearly the typical arrangement of voices, the triplum at the upper left, the motetus at the upper right, and the tenor across the bottom of the page.

the disappearance of newly composed conductus and organa; here the motet supplied the lack. If one drops the tenor of a motet and the two upper voices are either retained or are given the same text, one has what would seem to be conductus; if one removes the text of a motet, one has what would appear to be a substitute clausula. Both procedures were followed in the late thirteenth century.

Our sources for the Notre Dame motet are the same four manuscripts mentioned earlier, plus two important sources that are completely devoted to the motet. The largest of the latter is the Montpellier manuscript, H 196, referred to as Mo; the other great motet source is Bamberg, Ed. N. 6, abbreviated Ba. The last two sources include motets of the early period as well as the later. In addition, there are many other sources, peripheral in nature, that indicate the wide spread of Notre Dame techniques. These come from many parts of Europe, England, Germany, Flanders, and Spain, as well as outlying parts of France itself, all showing an awareness of Parisian accomplishments, but with local characteristics well to the fore. Not only do these manuscripts include many works of French origin, but they also provide evidence that certain categories, the polyphonic trope and Sequence, were still popular in these areas, although no longer extensively cultivated by Notre Dame. To these was applied the new motet technique, leading to a paraphrase procedure that persisted in certain areas, England and Avignon in particular, until well into the fourteenth century.

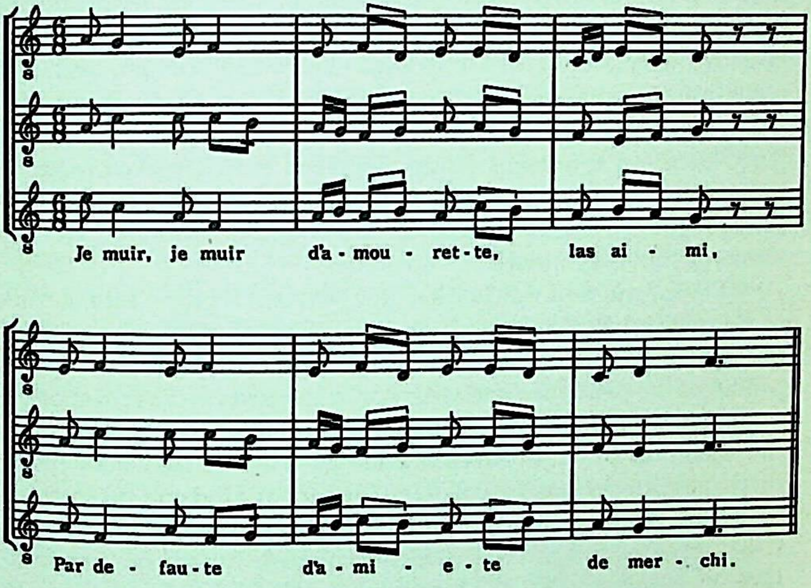
Secular polyphony

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, there were in France two distinct categories, sacred polyphony and secular monophony, clearly different in function, in audience, and in technique. By the end of the century, the once carefully drawn lines between the two had blurred to the point that, in speaking of the motet, it would be impossible to label it as completely one or the other; the techniques are generally those of sacred polyphony, while the larger part of the textual and melodic elements are those of secular monophony. What had begun originally as a musical manifestation of a clerical group had become the social amusement of a nobility that had discarded what had been its own, the monophonic trouvère art.

The reasons for the many changes found in the motet after the middle of the century, especially the intrusion of secular elements seem to lie in the increasing secularization within the clergy and in the desire of the noble laity to adopt for their own purposes the evident superiority of polyphony. That clerical society was no longer unaware of the beauties of the outside world is evident in the texts of many motets coming after the second quarter of the century; echoes of the Goliardic spirit are all too common and the many reproaches leveled against priests of all ranks who had forgotten their vows, found in motets from Ba to Fauvel, show an awareness of the loss of spirituality. The Albigensian and Waldensian heresies and the difficulties involved in stamping them out are further evidence of a rise of anti-clericalism, a falling away from respect for the Church and its servants that even the establishment of the Franciscan and Dominican orders of mendicant monks, with their new appeal, could do little to check. The demarcation between cleric and laity in terms of liking for the good things of life was no longer distinct.

With this lack of cleavage in social outlook, the personal goals of both classes were quite close. When the nobility had recognized the higher interest of polyphony and desired it for their own, there was little difficulty in getting those most skilled in its production to turn their talents in a secular direction. In the same spirit that earlier composers had provided polyphonic works for the embellishment of the liturgy, later composers wrote their polyphony for the enhancement of the courtly occasions. Originally provided for only the highest festivities such as coronations or other situations of a somewhat liturgical character, but soon spreading to all kinds of secular occasions, the new polyphony rapidly took over those characteristics that would please its new audience. The effort to delight the now primarily laic listeners required the use of texts, forms, and melodies already familiar, or their derivations; the audience was no longer limited to the Church but was now that which had formerly cultivated the trouvère. This noble public was not one trained in the scholastic tradition, with its emphasis on the speculative, but was the cultured upper class, appreciative of the beauties of well-organized sound and understanding music more as an *ars* than a *scientia.*

Since the composer of motets for this group was normally a cleric, his approach to secular polyphony was primarily through the motet and the techniques developed therein, fitting the new secular material to its context. During the thirteenth century little effort was made to apply polyphony to those forms developed by secular musicians, namely the rondeau, virelai, and ballade. In France, the only figure who seems to have undertaken polyphonic settings of these forms is Adam de la Halle (1240?-1288?), a bourgeois musician from Arras, whose *Robin et Marion* is a play with interspersed monophonic melodies. Adam has left seven motets and sixteen polyphonic *rondels*, of which fourteen are rondeaux, one a virelai, and another a ballade. All sixteen of these last are in conductus style, an approach long discarded for the upper level art work, but probably adopted here by the nature of the audience. The music to "Je muir d'amourete" ("I die of love") will show the manner:


Je muir, je muir d'a - mou - ret - te, las ai - mi,
Par de - fau - te d'a - mi - e - te de mer - chi.

EXAMPLE 6-12.

The most famous of secular polyphony is the Reading Rota, "Sumer is icumen in," from the third quarter of the century. This work is for six voices, four in canon on the principal melody, two others in canon on a short fragment that acts as a foundation (the *pes*). As canonic technique, it is one of the more ambitious works of its time; the continent saw nothing like this. As with many motets of the same time, the Rota carries the possibility of performance in Latin; a second text, "Perspice Christicola," has been inserted below the English one. The British Museum manuscript including this work also contains three polyphonic dances, indicating the beginning of the spread of the new technique into this area. Although there are many indications that polyphony had already begun to play a large role in dance music, most of it seems to have been improvised and thus has not come down to us.

The early thirteenth century marks the high point of medieval music, for it is during this period that the highest degree of union between aesthetic goal and artistic fulfillment of that goal existed. Until that date, the history of music had been the steady expansion of technique and artistic achievement toward the creation of a repertoire that would satisfy both the demand of the creators themselves for musical interest and that of theologians who had defined the purposes for which music was to be used. There had been no conflict of interest during the preceding centuries, for it was a true partnership, the *cantor* working always in complete harmony with the *musicus*. The functional and philosophical aspects of music worked together, the performer thoroughly understanding his place within the philosophical framework, the speculator comprehending the technical interests of the practitioner.

The creations of this Golden Age reflect this unity, for the work of Leonin and Perotin clearly shows the urge to serve the aesthetic goal set forth by the Church and its thinkers. The technical miracles produced by these men and their contemporaries were reflections in sound of the philosophical developments brought to a peak at about the same time by St. Bonaventura and St. Thomas Acquinas. Just as these men were trying to explore the nature of God and his creations by reason, so were musicians then attempting to mirror the glory of these creations and the reasonableness of their multiform manifestations in sound. As Notre Dame was a replica of the orderliness of God's world in stone, so were the works of its musicians a reflection of that universe in music.

With the advancing thirteenth century, the paths of philosopher and musician began to diverge. Where adjustments of the one to the needs of the other had previously been made without effort and with alacrity, there were now increasing indications of a basic split in the understanding of a common goal, combined with further evidence that this goal no longer carried meaning. In philosophy, after St. Thomas there was more and more a tendency to degrade what had been, in his hands, a fruitful inquiry to a repetitious mouthing of formulae and intricacies without life or validity; with Duns Scotus

(1270?-1308) and William of Occam (1300?-1349), medieval philosophy had lost its drive. In music, the liturgy and its embellishment no longer had overpowering interest for the composer; his concern with the development of technique was now more and more for its own sake; all was done without great regard for the purposes to which this technique might be put or the fitness of the results to that spiritual goal which had originally been behind his creations.

No better evidence of this failure on the musician's part is to be found than the growing number of complaints heard from the Church on the abuses of music and its disregard for its liturgical function. Roger Bacon, for one, observed the continual quest in Paris for novelty, leading to excesses that perverted liturgical sanctity. Condemnation of the use of the French motet texts as performed in monasteries became constant after the middle of the century, with a particularly strong blast appearing in 1275 against motet singing in churches. Already, around 1250, the Cistercians and Dominicans had formally forbidden polyphony as a "disturbance" to the service. Nowhere does the emphasis on techniques without higher goal appear more clearly than in the violent diatribes against the excessive liberties taken by the "moderns" written by Jacques de Liège, whose *Speculum musicae* comes from the beginning of the fourteenth century; to Jacques, all sense of continuity had been lost and no understanding of music's higher goals remained. With the bull of Pope John XXII from around 1324, the situation was clearly recognized. While organum in the older manner was approved as an aid to devotion, all the later innovations and elaborations were condemned in their entirety, anathematized as completely outside the spiritual purposes of music. Specifically forbidden were rhythmic deformations of plainchant, the use of the vernacular, the appearance of *hoquet* (a breaking up of a line between two voices by singing its individual notes in rapid alternation), and the employment of rapid chains of notes in small values.

The temper of the changing times was such that all these complaints had little or no effect. Composers kept on exploring musical possibilities without regard for criticism and, what is more to the point, continued to compose religious music in the new manner, the resulting works then being performed as part of the liturgy. Following generations were well aware of the philosophical implications that music was thought to contain, but their awareness was more lip service than obedience; secularization and, with it, the birth pangs of the Renaissance to come had concentrated their attention on music's more sensual elements. *Musica instrumentalis* was on its way to becoming the master and the focus of interest.

Bibliography

For the innovations of Notre Dame, the outstanding source is William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth Century Polyphony* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954); the latter part of the volume includes a complete transcription of Leonin's *Magnus Liber*. No such source for the history of the motet yet exists in English, although many articles on various aspects of the subject have recently appeared in *Speculum*, *Acta Musicologica*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *Musica Disciplina*, and *Musical Quarterly;* the major authorities in English are, in addition to Waite, Hans Tischler, Luther Dittmer, Willi Apel, and Frank Ll. Harrison. For the reader of French, the study of the motet in Yvonne Rokseth's *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Oiseau-Lyre, 4 vols., 1939) is classic; all present-day studies begin here. The fundamental German work is Friedrich Ludwig's *Repertorium organorum* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1910); incomplete, it is being revised by Dittmer.

Most of the major sources have been published in facsimile: W^1 is given in J. H. Baxter, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1931), while W^2 and Ma have been brought out by the Institute of Mediaeval Music, Brooklyn, W^2 in 1960 and Ma in 1957. The Institute has also published facsimiles of other manuscripts of the period, too many to list here. Rokseth's *Polyphonies* is a complete facsimile of Mo, with transcription of its entire contents. Ba has been similarly edited: Pierre Aubry, *Cent motets du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Rouart, 3 vols., 1908).

7

The French Ars Nova

With the fourteenth century, the dissolution of the medieval world, already intimated in the closing years of the preceding century, becomes obvious. The Great Jubilee of 1300, that great Roman pageant designed by Boniface VIII to show papal supremacy, was followed almost immediately by complete ruin of all that the papacy had stood for in the nature of a supra-national state. By 1305, the papacy had embarked upon a time of troubles, starting with the Babylonian Captivity (1305-1378), when the center of the Church was outside Rome, in Avignon, and only ending with the close of the Great Schism (1378-1417), during which the Christian world saw the spectacle of two rival popes and, for a time, three. To the rulers of

Europe, the Pope no longer represented a spiritual head, above party strife; he had become a tool of national policies, to be controlled and directed in accord with political ambitions. During the Great Schism, allegiance to one or another pope was made only in part on spiritual bases; practical considerations often determined the choice. England chose an anti-French pope, Scotland an anti-English one; in Italy, rulers and subjects of the same area often picked opposing popes, as in Naples and Sicily.

Together with this state of anarchy within the Church went a correspondingly chaotic scene in secular affairs. Nationalistic aspirations and desire for expansion soon brought France and England into direct confrontation, with the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453) as an outgrowth of political ambitions on both sides. In Italy, small city-states continued to intrigue against each other and to engage in small wars with their neighbors; within the cities themselves civil strife was normal, for the Guelph and Ghibelline factions were omnipresent. The Guelphs as partisans of papal and popular elements represented the efforts of the middle classes to move against the Ghibellines, the supporters of the Holy Roman Emperor and the nobility. In Spain, although successful in clearing the Moors from the peninsula, the various kingdoms found themselves continually embroiled in dynastic problems and in an inability to control the increasingly insurgent nobility; internal difficulties were compounded by the need to steer a careful course between the two giants, France and England. In Germany, the battle of the towns against the princes was a major preoccupation; for a time, the Hanseatic League threatened to become a major power. German unification made a few feeble beginnings, but, faced with simultaneous problems on all borders and internal dissensions, made no progress; the low state of German affairs may be seen in the simultaneous appearance of three rival Holy Roman Emperors (1400-1410), a situation like that of the papacy at the same time.

To complicate all these problems, in the middle of the century Europe was swept by the Black Death, reducing the population by one-third to one-half. All parts of Europe felt the impact of this loss of life, for the end result was a reduction in the labor force to such a point that, feeling his new importance, the peasant became dissatisfied with his lot. In nearly all parts of Europe, there were revolts of the lower classes in attempts to upset the established social order. None were successful, but they did serve to disturb the demarcation lines that had been taken for granted, stratifications that had been so characteristic of the high Middle Ages; the serf, the villein, and the peasant were to change their social conditions, just as were their betters.

The same air of disintegration is found in the music of the fourteenth century. Like the world of which it was a part, nationalism, emphasizing individual characteristics of one locality and a separation in technical approaches from one area to another, played a major role in the musical developments of the century. Musicians were no longer recruited primarily from within the Church and, even when serving the Church, took little account of the functions their music was to serve. The interest already found in music as a technical toy became, by the end of the century in France, the overriding concern; we can only react, in all too many cases, with a certain amazement at the amount of sterile complexity and meaningless intricacy therein.

This period is generally given the name, "Ars Nova" ("New Art") by music historians. The term is derived from the title of a treatise by Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361), the theorist whose work in music as both composer and author reflects the deep nature of the changes. That the period is literally one of a "New Art" in France is obvious, for the strictures of Jacques de Liège make it evident that there were clear lines of cleavage between the novelties of the fourteenth century and thirteenth-century practices; the late thirteenth century has, for this reason, often been labeled as the "Ars antiqua," "Ars vetus," or "Old Art" by many scholars, although so described by only a handful of writers of the time.

In applying the term to developments in other countries, Italy or England, for example, there is more of a problem for to have something new there must be something old. In the case of England, the difficulty is not serious, for English musicians had been generally oriented toward the practices of their French contemporaries from the beginning and, from the thirteenth century on, remained generally close to their principles. In Italy, as we shall see in the following chapter, there was, so far as we now know, no polyphonic art of importance before 1300, except a simple improvisational technique whose roots lay in the work of Guido. The achievements of the fourteenth century are new only in the sense that nothing like this seems to have existed previously. Even so, the term is appropriate, for Italian music, like that of France and England, reflects the novelties of the times, the newness of an art that has had to fit itself into a new place in a new society and with new functions.

The changed attitudes toward music and its place are perhaps best revealed in a survey of the theoretical sources of the period and their contents, as they reveal their purpose and their intended audience. We may begin by recalling that the general division of treatises before the rise of polyphony had been into the speculative and the practical, the speculative primarily designed for use within the *quadrivium* and the practical intended for the singer within the Church. With the introduction of polyphony and, later, the complications of modal and mensural notation, the area of the practical treatise had been enlarged to include the newer developments, but without losing sight of the place of these developments within the speculative framework. The compendium of Jerome of Moravia illustrates this clearly, with its inclusion of speculative elements together with practical descriptions of technical necessities; the philosophic viewpoints expressed therein are contemporary with those of its practical directions. The treatise of Johannes de Grocheo from around 1300 begins with certain philosophical foundations before proceeding to an exposition of forms and other practicalities; the two areas are in balance.

With the fourteenth century, the decline of the purely speculative treatise is evident. In France, the final great example comes from shortly after 1300, the *Speculum Musicae* of Jacques de Liège. Organized in seven books, the work is obviously intended for the embryo philosopher; the first five books generally follow the guidance and example of Boethius and only the last two can be considered as treating practical matters. There is, throughout the work, an air of frustration, an undercurrent of anger that implies a realization on Jacques' part that his labor has been passed by and that his work is already doomed to oblivion. In Italy, the last large speculatively oriented work is that of Ugolino of Orvieto, the *Declaratio Musicae Disciplinae*, a treatise which, like that of Jacques, bases much of its organization and discussion on Boethius; it too is out of touch with its own time in some ways, for its third book is an extended gloss on a treatise of Johannes de Muris (1290?-1351?), a book then almost a century old.

The decline in interest of the speculative as part of the practically directed treatise may in part be traced to an overpowering fascination with technical novelties and lessened dependence of such innovations upon philosophical justification. Indeed, many works suggest an impatience with the older need to begin with a speculative foundation. Several treatises of the fourteenth century have as their opening phrase, "Gaudent brevitate moderni" ("Modern men rejoice in brevity"), and then proceed without further ado to the practicalities that are the purpose of the exposition. The new audience implied is one whose intentions are not those of the university student nor the performing churchman; it is one that is beginning to regard music as a fine art, not a liberal art.

Within the purely practical treatise, the emphasis falls primarily upon the new mensural and notational innovations. Although treatises will sometimes include material on plainchant, the modes and their performance, together with directions for the improvising of simple note-against-note polyphony, the normal tendency in most sources is to provide nothing new here; many manuscripts merely include copies of older treatises discussing these subjects, with the newer treatises beginning at once with the novelties in polyphonic composition. Few works discuss both monophony and polyphony as part of a larger plan; the older treatises have discussed monophony well enough, so the modern ones omit its description, in favor of what is to them of more importance.

In France, the novelties of so much interest to the fourteenth century were centered about new ways of mensuration, with the development of means of notating them clearly. In addition, certain approaches to musical complication already inherent in the late thirteenth century led to characteristic forms, such as the isorhythmic motet and a new emphasis on the Ordinary of the Mass, and to the expansion of polyphony to areas hardly touched earlier, the secular forms such as the ballade, rondeau, and virelai. Similar processes were at work in Italy, to be discussed in our following chapter; at the beginning, the results within the two centuries were different, but, by the end of the century, French procedures had proven their superiority, with a consequent disappearance of purely Italian methods.

Novelties of the Ars Nova: mensuration

To the end of the thirteenth century and the work of Pierre de la Croix, the essential rhythmic patterns had been those based on triple groupings, the longa being divided into three breves. All six rhythmic modes reflect this situation, for, even when two breves are to be considered as equivalent in time value to a longa, the second brevis is altered, that is, made double its normal length, so that it, with its companion, will complete a unit of three parts. From its triple nature, like that of the Trinity, this mensuration was given the designation "perfect" and was originally considered as the only possible one, as the sole mensuration justifiable on speculative grounds.

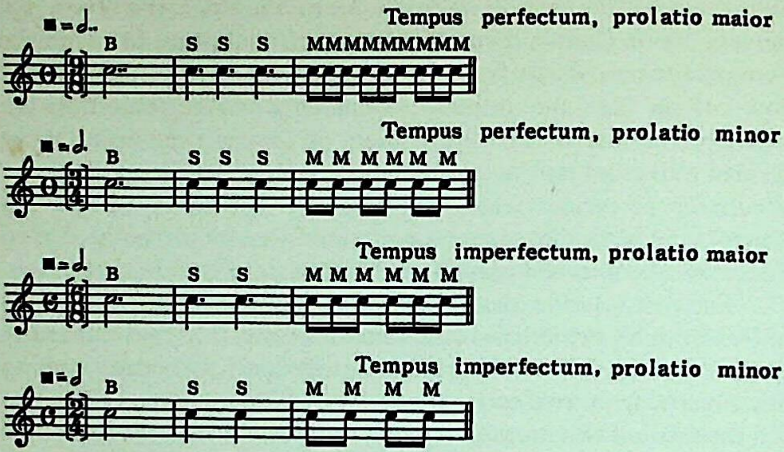
Imperfect mensuration, that based on duple divisions, was, however, beginning to appear in the latter part of the thirteenth century, for both Mo and Ba contain certain motets written in this fashion. In these the longa was divided into two breves of equal value. But, in spite of the evident interest taken in imperfect mensuration, particulary by English composers, it did not have the same speculative and philosophical distinction; its denomination as imperfect shows its lower place. The Reading Rota, "Sumer is icumen in," was originally written in imperfect mensuration and only later revised by a following scribe to perfect; this may have been done to allow performance of the Latin contrafactum in religious circumstances.

With the Fauvel manuscript of around 1316, the status of imperfect mensuration is well advanced, indicating that, regardless of its philosophical position, it is an accepted part of compositional procedures. The official recognition of the equality of perfect and imperfect mensurations comes, however, with de Vitry's *Ars Nova* of the third decade of the century, where his discussion makes no intimations of superiority or inferiority on the part of one or the other; henceforth, perfect and imperfect are to be considered as simple appellations indicative of triple or duple divisions within the notational unit, with no great overtones of speculative import.

At the end of the thirteenth century, only four values of notes were specified, the maxima or duplex longa, the longa, the brevis, and the semibrevis. Certain difficulties had become obvious, for, with the change of temporal unit from the longa to the brevis and the slowing down of the beat, the necessity of finding a smaller value than the semibrevis was apparent. The solution of allowing the brevis to be divided into from two to nine semibreves, thus reducing their value effectively in various ways, was evidently but an expedient; if a brevis be taken as the temporal unit, some way would be needed to determine the interrelationship of the semibreves within that brevis.

The first solution, described by the Italian theorist, Marchettus of Padua, in his *Pomerium* of between 1324 and 1326, and utilized in Fauvel, was the provision of a set of rhythmic formulae handling situations of from two to six semibreves within a group. While useful, the method was more a retrogression than an advance, for it was a return to much the same principles as those at the root of modal notation. A second solution, probably developed in the College of Navarre in Paris about the same time, was the introduction of a fifth note shape, called the minima and on the next smaller level below the semibrevis; its form is that of the semibrevis with a tail extended upwards. To this value were applied the same principles of relationship already outlined in the previous century for the longa-brevis relation by Franco.

The mensural system as developed by de Vitry and his followers, de Muris and others, is based on the possibility of a triple or duple relationship at any of several levels. At the very top is that between maxima and longa, *maximodus*, theoretically possible, although seldom seen; this was followed by *modus*, the relationship between longa and brevis; *tempus*, that between brevis and semibrevis; and *prolatio*, that between semibrevis and minima. To assist the performer in the understanding of which type of mensuration was to be used, de Vitry introduced the idea of the time signature to show *modus* and *tempus;* the first was represented by a rectangle including two or three small dashes, the second by a circle for perfect and a half circle for imperfect. Later theorists were to revise the system slightly and add details to these last two symbols to indicate *prolatio;* a point within the circle indicated *prolatio maior*, none *prolatio minor*. If the minima be taken as an eighth note, the following table will show the modern equivalents of the various time signatures on the level of *tempus* and *prolatio:*


Tempus perfectum, prolatio maior
B
S S S
MMMMMMMMM
Tempus perfectum, prolatio minor
B
S S S
M M M M M M
Tempus imperfectum, prolatio maior
B
S S
M M M M M M
Tempus imperfectum, prolatio minor
B
S S
M M M M

EXAMPLE 7-1.

If time signatures were not used, the student had to be given elaborate rules for the deduction of the mensuration. Many treatises go into extensive detail on this problem, with elaborate rules on how to determine the mensuration by inspection. One device of importance, also described by de Vitry and amplified by his successors, was the introduction of red notes into the music, to show shifts in mensuration or to indicate changes in value from those designated by the normal black notes. This last innovation, lending a certain air of brilliance to the manuscript sources, was developed to a high point, for, following the lead of de Vitry, various shapes of notes in both black and red were devised, all to indicate values not easily written in the normal manner.

A final novelty, similarly of great importance, was the use of the point after a given note, not only to indicate an addition of length to its normal value, but also as a way of dividing groups of notes from each other, to aid in the indication of syncopation. Not discussed by de Vitry, but seen in the examples of his *Ars Nova*, the use of the point as a way of defining mensural combinations was to lead to possibilities of immense rhythmic complexity and elaborateness.

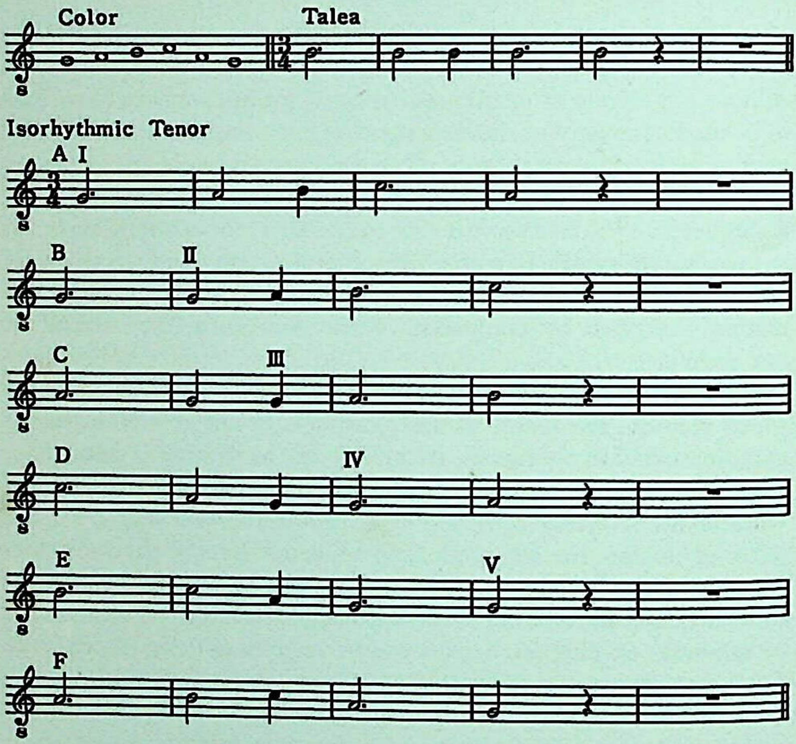
While the general principles of mensuration and notation were well established by de Vitry and his immediate followers, a tremendous range of individuality exists in the practical sources, for they show no real uniformity in their notational procedures. The general impression gained from study of the manuscripts is that practice was moving more rapidly than its description and that the notational needs of the composer were satisfied by solutions that were individual and without relation to an already established system. The composer knew what rhythmic arrangements he wished to write and devised his answers to the problems as they occurred.

Novelties of the Ars Nova: isorhythm

As early as the introduction of the substitute clausula by Perotin at the beginning of the thirteenth century, it was evident that, to achieve any degree of length, repetition of the fundamental tenor had to be made. In many of these works, therefore, we note that the tenor may be repeated several times, often enough to provide the composer with a sufficiently long foundation. As the century passed, this repetition became less mechanical and, in the later manuscripts, began to show a more imaginative approach, repeating the tenor in the same way as in a refrain form or in a manner that was to become the method followed by composers of the Ars Nova, the method of isorhythm.

To understand the process, it is perhaps easiest to consider a given melody, the tenor, as the composers of the Ars Nova did—a combination of two elements, its melody and its rhythm. The melody, called the *color*, was taken as a series of pitches, without rhythm and without necessity for retention of a specific melodic shape. To this series of pitches, the composer then applied a specific rhythmic pattern, the *talea* ("cutting"), a rhythmic organization without relation to what might have been that of the original melody. To this pattern or *talea* the original pitch sequence or *color* was fitted, so that the final product was a combination of the two elements, both being repeated. Thus far, there is little real distinction between this method and the older one of literal repetition, for one could speak of a literal repetition as one of the *color* and of the *talea*, if the rhythmic pattern of the original melody is considered as a *talea* in its entirety.

Where the novelty came in isorhythm was the desire of the composer to provide non-coincidence in length between the two. That is, if the melody included twenty notes, for example, and the rhythmic pattern decided upon used only fifteen of these, the *color* would begin its repetition at a point after that where the *talea* had already recommenced; there would be an overlapping of the first part of the new *talea* with the last of the *color*. If the process were continued to a point of final coincidence, it would require four repetitions of the *color* and five of the *talea*. In the following example, we show the process on a small scale, with a *color* of six notes and a *talea* of five; in the complete isorhythmic tenor, the beginning of each *color* is marked with a Roman numeral, that of each *talea* with a letter:



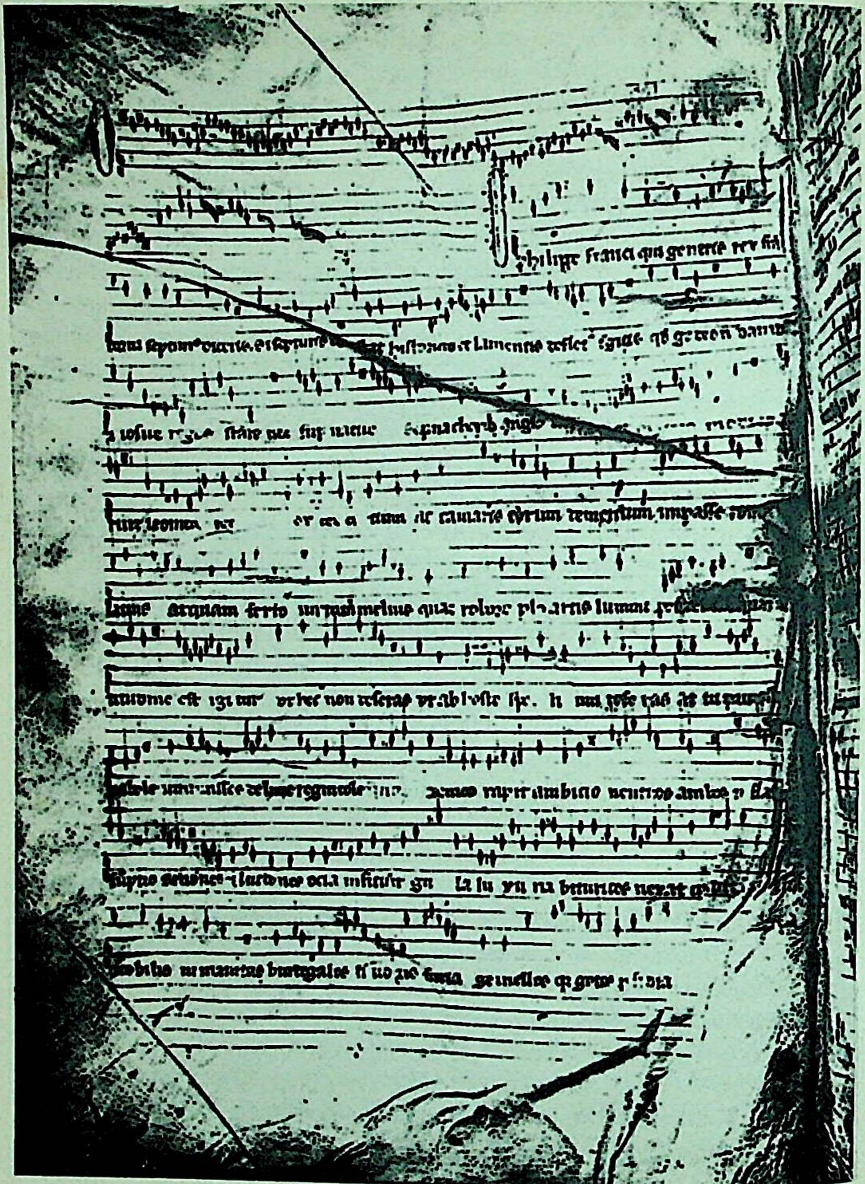
EXAMPLE 7-2.

With this technique as a foundation, numerous variations were possible. In many isorhythmic motets, the closing portion of the work will find the tenor using the original *talea* in shortened values, giving a quickened pace that acts as a coda to the work. The length of *color* and *talea* were not prescribed, so that the *color* may be shorter than the *talea,* or vice versa. The isorhythmic process may be reflected in the upper voices, with the appearance of particular rhythmic patterns, these then repeated in the manner of a *talea;* to these, the proper term to be applied is isometric, for there is, in these voices, no effort to maintain the strict adherence to a melodic sequence as well.

In its fully developed form, the isorhythmic motet begins with preparation of an isorhythmic tenor, its *color* normally based on some kind of pre-existing melody, either sacred or secular or, in some cases, free-composed. Above this tenor the composer adds two or three voices, one or all of these involving the repetition of rhythmic patterns. The whole receives its name from the isorhythmic character of the tenor. Like the motet of the late thirteenth century, there is normally an attempt to differentiate voices by their speeds; the tenor, as before, is the slowest voice, with the motetus and triplum in contrasting faster rhythms.

The isorhythmic motet is the major art form of the French Ars Nova, just as organum and the motet were those of the Ars Antiqua. Its rhythmical severity and intensely patterned course were obvious sources of delight to the cultured listener and provided for him the same intellectual pleasure that later generations were to derive from the fugue and the symphony. There is, within the isorhythmic motet, much the same approach to intellectuality as today in serial composition, with its strict arrangement of patterns of all types; twelve-tone composition is, in many ways, but a modern application of the principle of *color* repetition.

The major sources for the repertoire of the isorhythmic motet in the early fourteenth century are the Fauvel manuscript, already mentioned, and a codex from Ivrea. The Fauvel source is among the most interesting of all our manuscripts, for it is basically a long poem by Gervais du Bus with additions by Raoul Chaillou. Within the poem, many charges are brought against the Church, the whole taking on the form of the medieval *admonitio;* the full title of the work, *Le Roman de Fauvel,* is derived from the personalization of the stallion, Fauvel, a symbol of the vices of the Church, whose name is taken from the initial letters of the seven vices, Flattery, Avarice, Villainy, Variability, Envy, and Looseness. In addition to many monophonic works, the manuscript contains 34 polyphonic compositions as interpolations. Although the greater part of these musical



Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, folio 1 verso. The music here is the triplum of the anonymous motet, "O Philippe Franci," written for Philippe VI of France (1293-1350).

insertions are representative of the latter part of the thirteenth century, there are a few from the presumed time of the source, the early fourteenth century.

The Ivrea codex, from around 1360, is somewhat larger in musical content, for it includes 81 compositions—motets, Mass sections, and French secular works. Of the fourteen motets now accepted definitely as the work of de Vitry, it contains nine. Unlike Fauvel, it does not hark back to the previous century, but represents a repertoire from around the middle of the century and slightly earlier. One of the most interesting features of its contents is the balance found between the motet and other compositional categories; slightly less than half the compositions represented are motets, with 37 in all. There is thus some suggestion that interest in the motet had begun to fade slightly, and that, although it was to remain at the center of the repertoire until into the fifteenth century, other forms had become of sufficient interest to attract the attention of more and more composers.

Novelties of the Ars Nova: Masses and Mass movements

With the transfer of the papacy from Rome to Avignon in 1305 and the rapid growth of court life there, a second rival to Paris as a cultural center was quickly established. Under John XXII (1313-1334), the author of the famous bull mentioned at the close of the preceding chapter, new methods of raising funds for the religious hierarchy in its new French home had been found, bringing in more than enough to finance a lavish scale of living. As a part of the papal household, musicians held an important position, not only as members of a liturgical choir, but also as providers of entertainment for the leisure hours of the Pope and his retinue.

Although we cannot be sure of the musical climate in Avignon during the first years of the Babylonian Captivity, the Ivrea manuscript and another found at Apt, both deriving from Avignon, give some idea of the shifts taking place after the third quarter of the century, both in technique and in repertoire. The essential change lies in the creation of a new category, involving the polyphonic setting of movements of the Ordinary of the Mass. While Ordinaries are part of the Notre Dame scene, they are comparatively few in number and are most frequently attached to troped Ordinary chants, the normal ones appearing infrequently. Certain items, the Gloria and Credo, are hardly set in any manner; indeed, the Credo is, by its nature, not to be expected. The Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus had received the greater attention, perhaps because of their shorter texts.

In mid-century Avignon, to judge from the Ivrea manuscript, the situation was completely reversed. We have already noted the lesser place of the motet in that source, 37 works of 81; what is unusual is that, within the remaining 44 works, 25 are Mass movements, four Kyries (two troped), nine Glorias (three troped), ten Credos, two Sanctus sections (one troped), and one indecipherable Kyrie. The emphasis in Ivrea is upon those sections previously neglected, for the Gloria and Credo settings combined make up 19 of the 25 works. No Mass Propers are included nor are there compositions for the Hours; doubtless, these were improvised as needed.

The Apt manuscript, reflecting a repertoire of some 25 years later, reinforces the impression of a trend toward the Ordinary, for, of its 48 compositions, only four are non-liturgical motets, the remaining 44 works consisting of ten Kyries (six troped), nine Glorias (one troped), ten Credos, four Sanctus (one troped), and one Agnus, plus ten Hymns; of the ten, all for three voices, nine have their liturgical melody in the triplum. As in Ivrea, the number of Glorias and Credos is quite high, although not in the same overpowering proportion. There is here the one Agnus, a section not represented in Ivrea, as well as material for the Hours.

Having no models for a formal approach, the composers around Avignon turned to other categories for their inspiration. As a primary source because of its artistic position, the motet logically furnished the first basis for the new Ordinaries; but, because of the liturgical character of the Mass, it could not be and was not taken over without change. These earliest settings are built, like a motet, upon a tenor, but this is in most cases a non-liturgical one and does not have the same structural function as that of a motet. Instead, it acts as a harmonic support for the upper two voices, these in turn moving together on the same text in the manner of a vocal duet. The tenor may be arranged in something resembling an isorhythmic pattern, but it lacks the dependence on *color* and *talea* non-coincidence found in true isorhythm. Most of the Mass sections in Ivrea are of this type.

A second solution is found in what has been labelled discantus technique, taken from secular models without complications. Here, there is normally but one voice, the highest, which carries the liturgical text, the lower voices acting as instrumental supports. In many cases, the tenor is no longer the lowest voice, its place taken by what is called a contratenor; both of these work together, often crossing and closely resembling each other. Evidently, the tenor has not acted as a generator for the web of the composition, but has been conceived as one of two supports for the uppermost voice; the technique is that of an accompanied vocal solo. Apt shows a turn toward this approach, for the number of Mass sections in discantus is greater than that in motet style.

A final solution is conductus-like, where all voices carry the text, moving together in the older manner. Whether there is close connection or not between the two is difficult to say, for it is possible that this particular manner is derived from the improvisatory practices so common during the period. Both Ivrea and Apt contain many examples of this procedure, suggesting that it was a well established method and one of equal interest with motet and discantus styles.

In addition to providing the first great concentration upon items of the Ordinary as individual sections to be set in polyphony, the Ars Nova also presents the first efforts to collect the various parts of the Ordinary into one unit, that is, to make of the parts a unified whole, if not by musical means, at least by grouping them together as a set. The most important of the complete settings is that by Guillaume de Machaut, coming from outside the tradition of Avignon and to be discussed presently. Others exist, obviously not composed entirely by one man, yet collected together in such a way as to suggest a feeling of liturgical unity. The earliest of these is found in a Tournai manuscript, with others also appearing in sources from Toulouse, Barcelona, and the Sorbonne. In none of these is there evidence of an intent to compose the complete cycle as a unit, but rather an effort to combine individual movements into a set of Ordinaries that will function together liturgically. It is probable that the various parts of the Sorbonne Mass were the product of one man, Johannes Lambuleti, but this is not yet securely proven.

Not all the cycles are complete, for the Credo is not always included. Where it is found, as in the Tournai or Toulouse Masses, it appears also as an individual movement in other sources; the Credo of both these Masses is so given in Apt, that of the Toulouse Mass in

Ivrea. Other movements may not appear, as again in the Toulouse Mass, where there is no Gloria.

Recent research has indicated that there are many cross-relations between the various settings of the Ordinary made around Avignon; composers were evidently well aware of what their fellows had done. Not only is there provision of contrafacta, as in the Sorbonne Mass, where the opening Kyrie furnishes the material for the Agnus, but there is also a procedure in which sections of one composition are taken over, rearranged, and given a new text. The most complex technique is that of parody, where the polyphonic web of one piece is used as the starting point for another; this occurs in the Sorbonne Mass' first Agnus, which has its roots in an Ivrea Sanctus, this in turn being based on an Agnus coming from a third source, a manuscript now in Cambrai. As in the thirteenth century, there is ample evidence here of the continuing tradition of reference to authority and the glossing of a given text, although the reasons for the reappearance of older material seem to be based more on purely musical considerations than on philosophical ones.

Novelties of the Ars Nova: secular forms

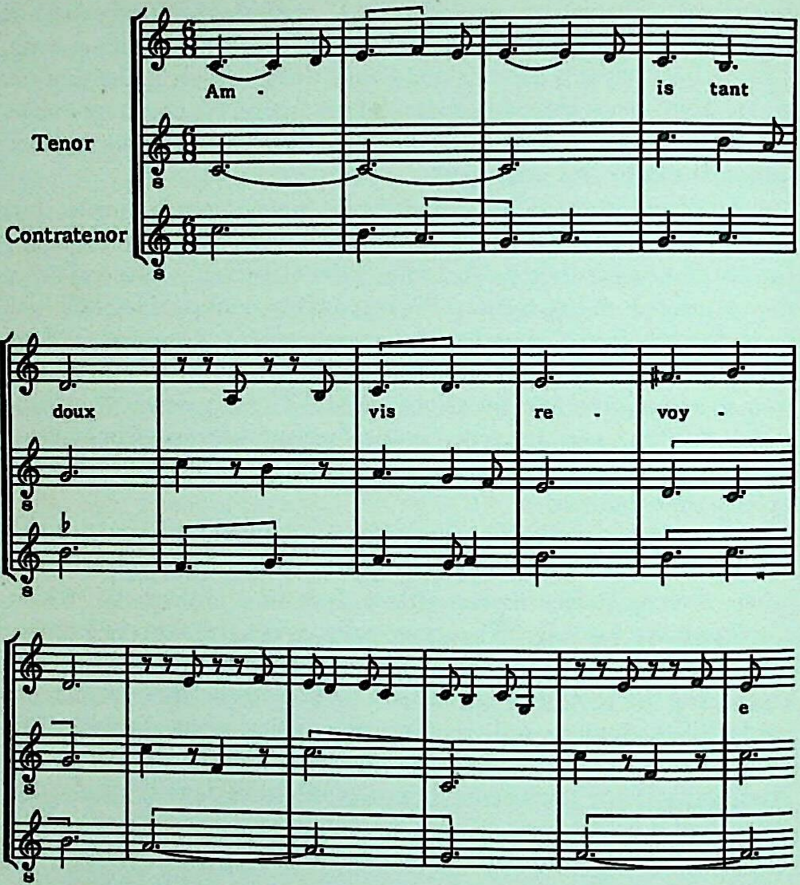
By the end of the thirteenth century, the interest of composers had begun to turn to the area of the secular forms, although much of their use of these forms had been within the context of the motet; the repetition pattern of certain tenors within these pieces is often governed by the refrain principles of a secular form, and the musical ideas found in secular works are carried over into the more artistic form and made a part of the motet structure. Little attention, however, had been paid to the application of polyphony to the secular forms *per se*, with perhaps the only extensive effort being that of Adam de la Halle in his rondeaux.

Much the same situation can still be found in Fauvel. In spite of the large number of secular monophonic works in all the usual forms, the polyphonic compositions include few secular forms as such. Many of the motets carry secular tenors and two of them, the Latin double motet, "Quomodo cantabimus—Thalamus puerpere," and the French double motet, "Se me desires—Bonne est amours," in spite of their motet technique, repeat the tenor in the manner of a virelai; the relation to the secular is close. Nearer the secular are the two works, "Quare fremuerunt" and "Bon vin doit," in which the first, in two voices, uses musical material taken from an earlier conductus, this in turn handled in the manner of a motet, with the form of a ballade then imposed upon the whole. The second work is a drinking song, with a short tenor phrase repeated four times; above it, the duplum and triplum carry their own texts and new music for each tenor repetition. The tenor here acts much like the "pes" of the Reading Rota, a foundation for the other parts.

Ivrea reflects the changing attitudes toward secular forms, for, among the motets and sacred compositions, one finds five rondeaux for three voices, another for four, two virelais for two voices, a double virelai and two more for three. One of these last, "Or sus, vous dormez trop," is of particular interest, for it appears in four other sources, some even coming from the fifteenth century; as a song introducing imitations of bird calls, it is a forerunner of the program chanson to be developed in the sixteenth century. Curiously, a work by Janequin that similarly uses bird-song imitations begins with exactly the same text.

In addition to the fixed forms, the rondeau and the virelai, Ivrea also contains four examples of the *chace*, a form based upon canon, where a second voice repeats after a short time interval that which the first voice has sung. The name seems to derive from the French, *chasse*, meaning a hunt; the term is most appropriate for certain pieces, for the text often describes a hunting scene and includes the sounds of the hunters and the dogs. In a musical sense, the chace is a chase, with one voice rushing after the other. This same type of composition, with the same connotations, is also to be found in Italy, under a similar designation, *caccia*.

The technique of the secular song as found in Ivrea resembles strongly the technique already seen in certain of the Mass Ordinary settings, those in which the emphasis is upon the upper voice, the lower ones used as an instrumental support. The tenor is evidently inferior in interest, although superficially it often resembles tenor writing as seen in the motet. The contratenor is not limited to a simple filling in of the space between the tenor and the uppermost voice; instead, again as in Ordinary settings, it may cross the tenor and assume the place of the lowest voice. Without a designation within the source, it would often be difficult to determine which voice is the tenor. As an example of the style, we give the opening of "Amis tout doux" ("Such sweet friends"), from Ivrea:



EXAMPLE 7-3.

The simple beginnings of attention to secular forms as individual entities were to develop into a full-blown repertoire by the end of the century, for later sources indicate more and more the rising interest in them. While in Ivrea there are but 15 secular works out of the 81, in later manuscripts the proportion becomes higher and higher; in the Chantilly source, to be discussed more fully later, out of 113 compositions there are but 13 motets. The other 100 pieces are secular forms—ballades, rondeaux, and virelais. Within the manuscript, there is a clear division of categories, for the motets, significantly enough, are found at the end of the volume grouped together in one unit; all are isorhythmic.

Guillaume de Machaut

As a symbol of the spirit of the French Ars Nova, no better figure can be found than that of Guillaume de Machaut (1300?-1377?), for he summarizes within his life and work the spirit of the age; as one of the outstanding musicians of all time, he ranks with such other composers as Josquin, Palestrina, Bach, and Beethoven, in that he synthesizes the best of his own time. There is a feeling of progression to the period of Machaut, with a subsequent falling off in inspiration and in balance between form and feeling; Machaut is a peak between two valleys.

Machaut was born in Champagne of a noble family and, after taking orders, became the secretary of John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, in 1323. As part of King John's entourage, he followed his master on various military campaigns, in Silesia, Poland, and Lithuania. After 1330, still attached to John, he received successively benefits in various churches of France, in Verdun, Arras, Reims, and St.-Quentin; he was not required to be present in any of these places, but, as was often the case at the time, was given these positions as rewards for his services, with consequent financial benefits. With the death of John at the battle of Crécy, Machaut turned to his daughter, whose husband was later to become John II of France. By 1349, when he had entered the employ of Charles, King of Navarre, his reputation was such that he became the intimate of kings and nobles; his works from this date show a close connection to royal circles. Although attached to the courts of Bohemia and Navarre, his principal residence after 1340 was in Reims, where he received visits from both the future Charles V of France and the Duke of Bar in 1361 and 1363. After 1364, he was, for a time, in the employ of Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, an area to become of cultural distinction at the beginning of the following century; he also had some connections with Amedeo of Savoy, sending him a manuscript of his works in 1371. Little is known of his last years, and even the year of his death is not completely certain.

Machaut's life reflects the secularization of the century, for, although a cleric, his career was spent in secular circles; his connections to the Church were at best tenuous, although his main source of income was as beneficiary of various religious posts. As secretary to one of the most active kings of the time, he had the opportunity to come in contact with almost every major court and with the most cultivated societies of his time. For these circles, he produced poetry and music in about equal proportions, working for most of his life for one noble patron or another. The comparative profusion of sources containing Machaut's work is, in part, due to this situation, for he had the custom of supervising the preparation of presentation manuscripts for his noble patrons and friends.

The emphasis within Machaut's musical output is upon the secular, although there are a few religious compositions. Speaking first of the motet and its 23 examples, 15 are French double motets on profane subjects, two are mixed with texts in both Latin and French, and the remaining six are Latin double motets; only two of these last have purely liturgical connections. Isorhythm is present in the tenors of nearly all of these, with isometric elements in the motetus and triplum as an accompanying feature. The tenors are drawn from all manner of sources, chant melodies and secular songs alike, although many tenors have still to have their source finally identified. In style, these works are well within the tradition established by de Vitry, but show a variety and skill not found in those of the older master. Equality of imperfect and perfect mensurations is now wholly achieved, with no preference for one or the other.

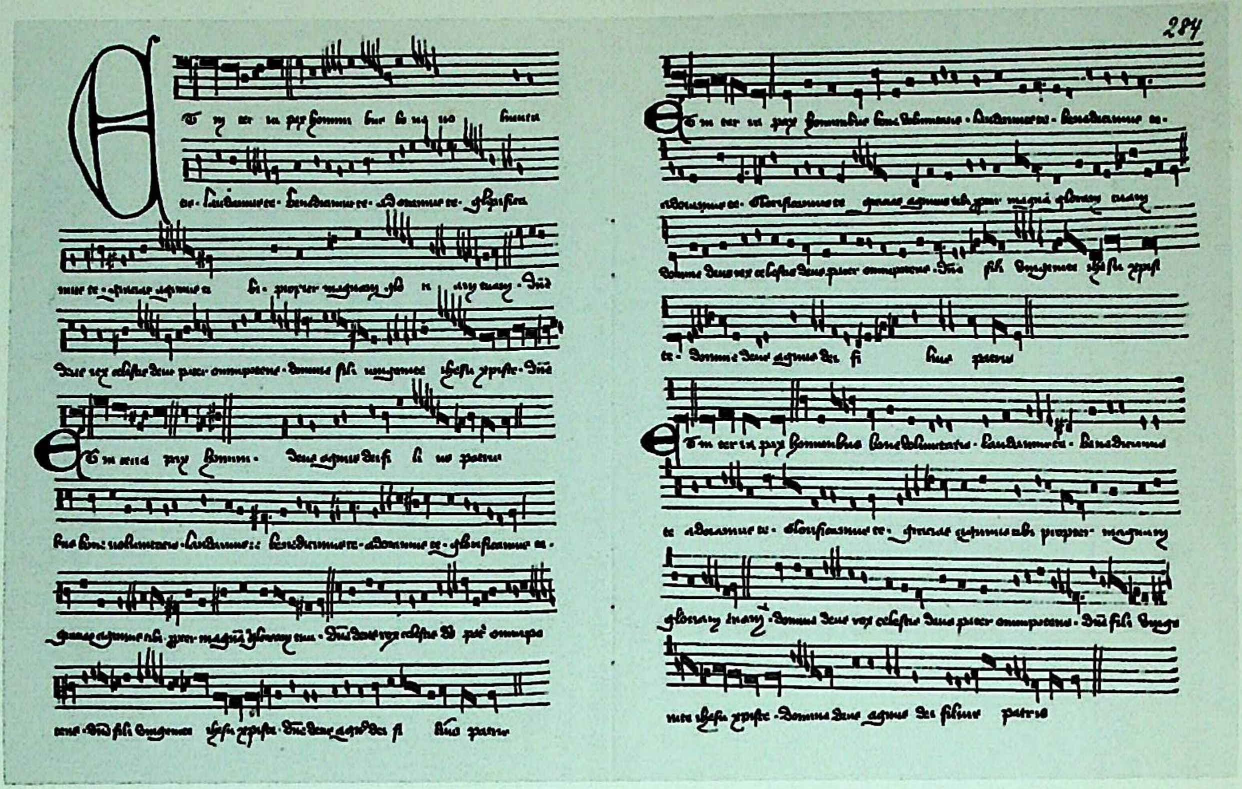
The largest group of compositions are those based on the secular forms, the lai, virelai, rondeau, and ballade. In these, Machaut shows his close relationship to the trouvère tradition, for many of these forms are composed monophonically in much the same manner as in the past. Of the 19 lais, 16 are monophonic; two of the remaining three, in three voices, utilize the canonic technique of the chace, while the third, for two voices, uses even-numbered lines as counterpoint to the preceding odd-numbered ones. Machaut is the last to compose lais, which are now rapidly falling out of favor. Contemporary sources that contain other items by Machaut almost never contain any of these works, suggesting that their day of popularity had come to an end.

To a certain extent, the same situation may be seen in the virelais, for 25 of the 33 composed are also monophonic; the remaining eight are for two voices. This is, however, a form that was not to disappear, for its popularity was high during the following century. The reasons for its neglect, and the neglect of the lai as well, may indeed rest on the general disappearance of monophonic music. To some degree, in these two areas Machaut looks back to the *Roman de Fauvel;* one of his lais is directly connected to the *Roman.*

With the rondeaux and ballades, the evident interest is in polyphonic treatment, for all of the 22 rondeaux and 41 of the 42 ballades are so composed. The greater part are for three voices, but there are many for two and a small number for four; most are soloistic in character, with one voice accompanied instrumentally, but there are two triple ballades, with separate texts in all three voices. Of the rondeaux, the most fascinating is the "Ma fin est mon commencement," a superb example of the *crab-canon,* where all three voices proceed to the middle of the composition and then return to the beginning by repeating the material sung, but in reverse order.

The major religious work is the Mass, once thought to have been composed for the coronation of Charles V of France in 1364, but now believed to have been written for Notre Dame at Reims sometime after 1337. It is unique within the fourteenth century for, not only is it the only Ordinary setting known definitely to have been made by one man, but it is also a complete setting, including not only the normal five sections, but also an "Ite missa est." In style, it summarizes the advances made earlier, for its six movements include technical elements of all kinds. The Kyrie is based on material from Mass IV, while the Sanctus and the Agnus come from Mass XVII; isometric techniques are important in all three of these movements, not only in the tenor and contratenor but occasionally in the motetus and triplum. Because of their lengthy texts, the Gloria and Credo employ the conductus-like style already noted in Ivrea, but with an imagination and sureness not found there.

One other religious work deserves mention, the "David Hoquetus," for three voices. The tenor is based on the chant used previously by Perotin in his "Alleluia-Nativitas" mentioned earlier; it has been suggested that Machaut's composition was designed to complete that



Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 1585, folio 283 verso and 284 recto. The music here is the opening of the Credo of the Mass by Guillaume de Machaut. Each of the four voices can be distinguished by the large initials of the opening, "Et in terra."

of his great predecessor. Its tenor is completely isorhythmic, while the upper two voices are written in hoquet. This technique had its greatest vogue during the thirteenth century, although it still forms one of the basic characteristics of the motet of the Ars Nova. (The preceding example, in measures 6, 11, and 14, includes hoquet in the upper two voices.)

With Machaut, the energy of the French Ars Nova was at an end. As the last composer of the century to achieve a balance between all the elements of musical technique, Machaut represents the drive begun during the late thirteenth century to free musicians from the often restricting partnership with philosophy, to give a liberty of expression not possible before. With the last quarter of the century, the balance he had shown in his works was to disappear, in favor of emphasis upon the complicated and the overblown, upon notational detail and mensural intricacy. What had been a clear leadership on the part of French musicians was to disappear before a new clarity of goal and a new sense of the appropriate on the part of composers of other areas.

A sign of the approaching fall of French practice was the rise of a school of musicians in Italy, an area previously known only as an outlying artistic province of France. Even though it was not to maintain a reputation for long, the Italian school did give signs of the possibility to consider musical practices from other angles than those stemming from the greatest of medieval centers for music, Notre Dame de Paris. It is this new art of Italy to which we must now turn.

Bibliography

Special studies on the French Ars Nova are primarily in the form of magazine articles, the greater mass of them appearing in *Musica Disciplina;* the major authorities are Gilbert Reaney, who has done much work on de Vitry, and Ursula Günther, whose "The 14th-Century Motet and its Development" in Vol. XII (1958) is important. Leo Schrade has edited *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1956-), the first three volumes of which contain transcriptions of all of Fauvel, the works of de Vitry, and those of Machaut; Schrade has also done several separate studies of the material, which appear in *Acta Musicologica, Journal of the American Musicological Society*, and the *Revue Belge de Musicologie.* The Ordinary of the Mass during the fourteenth century is masterfully handled by Hanna

Stäblein-Harder in her *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962); this includes transcriptions of all the Ordinary movements in Ivrea and Apt, plus those from other subsidiary manuscripts.

De Vitry's *Ars Nova* has been translated into English by Leon Plantinga, *Journal of Music Theory*, V (1961). Willi Apel's *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, already mentioned, gives a useful explanation of the theoretical changes taking place in the early part of the century.

For background to the times, J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Arnold, 1924), remains a standard source; his discussion of Machaut as a poet is of great value. A collection of essays and of discussions carried on at Wégimont, Belgium, in 1955 is also extremely useful, particularly those essays by Leo Schrade and Willi Apel; the title is *Les Colloques de Wégimont, II-1955, L'Ars Nova (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc.* CXLIX) (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1959).

8

The Italian Ars Nova

Little is known about the development of composed polyphony in Italy to 1300, although it is obvious from inspection of the earliest preserved compositions, from around 1330, that Italians had already a fairly extensive experience in its writing; these early works show an originality and skill not possible in first attempts. While French influence is clear, with characteristics of thirteenth-century conductus in some of these Italian compositions, there is also an individuality that indicates a complete assimilation of these French approaches and the forging of a peculiarly Italian style, something that could only have taken place over a fairly long period.

Further evidence of a maturity in style is the high degree of perfection and individualism seen in notational methods at the beginning of the fourteenth century. These are described in the *Pomerium* of Marchettus of Padua (late thirteenth century–early fourteenth century), written between 1321 and 1326, a treatise clearly outlining the notational practices of Italian composers and the differences between their procedures and those of French musicians. The methods described in the *Pomerium* are not completely original, for they are derivations of the French system in vogue during the third quarter of the thirteenth century, that used by Pierre de la Croix. The Italian derivations have a sufficiently high level of complexity and comprehensiveness to suggest strongly a somewhat lengthy period of previous experimentation and development.

Early examples of Italian polyphony are nearly all secular works, although there are a few processional compositions for two voices. This emphasis on the secular as the place of polyphony is a general characteristic of the Italian Ars Nova, for little music seems to have been composed for liturgical purposes. Instead, the principal function of the composer was the provision of music for social occasions of all kinds, music that could be used to heighten the enjoyment of life. Descriptions of social activities of the times as given in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353) and the *Paradiso degli Alberti* (1425?) of Giovanni da Prato indicate that music was an integral part of Italian social life and that it was not performed solely by professional musicians, but also by gifted amateurs.

This audience was not interested in the technicalities of counterpoint and rhythm so much enjoyed by the French. Melodic improvisation played a large role in Italian music, with much attention paid to the simultaneous improvisation of both words and music; this technique is still to be found in the late fifteenth century, for Baccio Ugolini, of the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was highly esteemed for his abilities in this difficult art. Such a stress on melody as a major constituent of music gives to Italian compositions of the Ars Nova a completely different orientation from the French, for, instead of using the tenor as a strong foundation above which the other parts are composed, the uppermost melody, that with the poetic text, is preëminent and acts as a generator of the lower lines. With Italian compositions, the tenor and contratenor are supports of a melody that is in itself an elaboration and ornamentation of an originally simpler line.

The high position of improvisation was not peculiar to secular music; it accounts also for the lack of attention given by Italian musicians to the composition of sacred polyphony. Improvisation supplied all the needs for polyphony within the church, leaving little necessity for composed polyphony. Understanding as did their French contemporaries that polyphony was an ideal means by which to enhance a particular service, the Italians introduced it where appropriate, but did not go to the point of elaborating it into anything more than ornamentation of the given plainchant by the adding of improvised note-against-note counterpoint. Development of organum and discantus styles in the manner of St. Martial was completely foreign to Italy A description of how to improvise a counterpoint of more than one note to another does not appear in that country until the late fourteenth century and, even then, this new technique does not seem to have been generally adopted. Within the fourteenth century proper, there are but a handful of composed polyphonic religious works, showing nothing like the attention paid to this category by French composers of both thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Even composers part of a religious establishment, men such as the Florentines of the mid-fourteenth century, concentrate their efforts on the production of secular music, to the neglect of the sacred. With the use of simple improvisation as a practical solution to the problem of providing polyphony for the services, interest in the development of sacred music stopped.

This practical attitude toward music is further reflected in the theoretical treatises of the time, for the vast majority of them are directed toward practical goals. Those collections of treatises that were part of every cathedral library were severely practical in their approaches, for they include only those items that are of value and necessity to the performer within the choir. Every one of them includes at least one work on improvisation, some coming from centuries earlier; Guido's *Micrologus* is an almost constant constituent of these collections. To show the emphasis, Ugolino's *Declaratio*, one of the last great speculative works, is found complete in only two sources; its practical sections, however, particularly that on plainchant, appear as excerpts in eight others. Music, to Italians, was essentially a skill of producing beautiful sounds.

This is not to say that there was no production of speculative material, for the first work of Marchettus of Padua, the *Lucidarium* from about 1317-1318, is an excellent example of the species. Yet it was not followed by many others, the remaining theoretical treatises of the Ars Nova coming only after the end of the century, those by Johannes de Ciconia (1340?-1411) and Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (1380?-1428). Between the *Lucidarium* and the works of these men, there is a giant gap in which nothing new was produced, reliance probably being placed upon treatises of an earlier age recopied into new manuscripts.

Within Italian speculative treatises there is not the clear reliance upon authority that is so characteristic of French sources. Marchettus, for example, shows something of the Italian tendency toward pure practicality in his discussion of semitones, for, by setting up three of different size, he allows a type of chromaticism that is completely impossible in the pure Pythagorean system then in vogue. He also makes reference to the judgment of the ear as to dissonance and consonance, saying that a dissonance is that which is required by the ear to move to a consonance.

The reason for the lack of emphasis upon the speculative treatise may lie in the fact that, unlike Paris, where the university was strong in the liberal arts and was, in fact, primarily devoted to this type of curriculum, Italian universities specialized in other fields, ones in which music played no such great role. The University of Bologna, the oldest in Italy, was primarily known for the study of medicine, while that of Padua, dating from 1222, emphasized law; only in 1399 was there a separate faculty of arts established at Padua. While music surely must have played some part in the educational scheme at both schools, it could have received nothing like the attention that it got at Paris, where the cathedral school and the university were in close contact. The works of both Ciconia and Prosdocimus reflect the needs of the newly introduced faculty of arts at the University of Padua and were probably caused by this elevation of liberal arts; both men were in Padua at the time and Prosdocimus was a member of its faculty.

The separation of philosophical and practical musical education in Italy caused some problems for musicians there. While it was possible to acquire much knowledge in the special fields, it seems to have been understood that Paris remained the major center for the true education of a *musicus*. There is evidence that many Italian musicians left their homeland to study at Paris because their native universities were not quite adequate; we read in a necrology of Florentine Carmelites that, in 1341, one of their brethren, an organist and cantor named Bartholomeus Duccini, died in Burgundy on his way to Paris as a student.

To summarize, we may say that Italy, in music as in the visual arts, was the first area to feel the impact of the new spirit that has been called the Renaissance. Its orientation toward music is not that of the Middle Ages, for its designed function for music was that of a sensual entertainment for a secular minded society. For these circles, the major areas of study within music were those of almost pure practicality, with little reference to any form of speculative foundation. The sole criterion was the beauty of the music itself as determined by its physical characteristics, its impact upon the ear, without great consideration of its place within a speculative scheme. To Italians, music had become a true fine art, with only small remnants of the speculative remaining as vestiges of a vanished age.

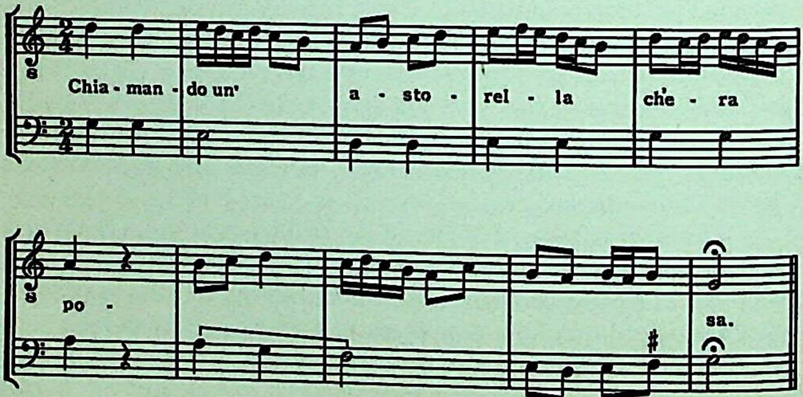
The forms

Within the secular music of the Italian Ars Nova, three forms were intensely cultivated, all with some relation to French models. During the first part of the period, major attention was given to the *madrigal*, a form comparable to the ballade, in that there are two sections of music, the first repeated; the second section, called the *ritornello* and acting in the manner of a refrain, is in a different meter, thus making a clear contrast against the opening material. Although both carry the same name, the fourteenth-century madrigal has nothing to do with that of the sixteenth; the later form does not develop from the earlier one.

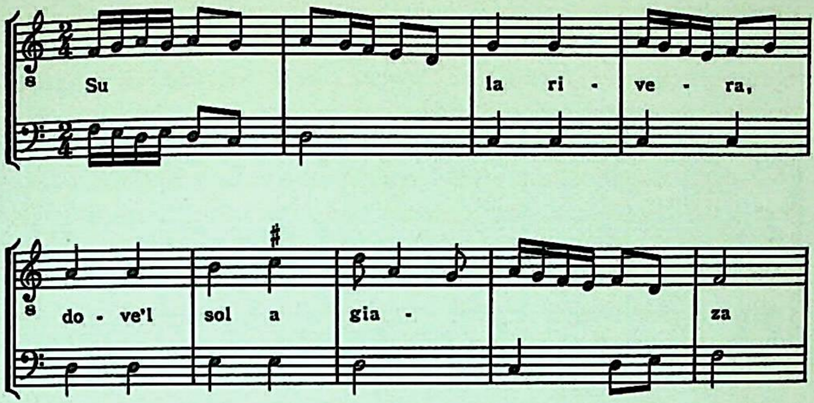
The madrigal was of Veneto-Lombardic origin, from the North of Italy, and was cultivated as a monophonic form in the late thirteenth century. In its beginnings, it seems to have been a rustic manifestation, a song of love of the type performed by shepherds and peasants. When taken over by more sophisticated circles, it was treated polyphonically in two or three voices, yet retaining in its text something of its pastoral beginnings. Writing in 1332, the Paduan, Antonio da Tempo, emphasizes this background, even suggesting that the rhythms as well as the subject matter of the poetry should try to retain the rustic feeling.

Madrigals are found in both two and three voices and in combination with the *caccia*, that canonic treatment already seen in the French *chace*. An anonymous Venetian theorist of around 1330 suggests that one voice, the tenor, should be in longae, while the upper voice or voices should move in minimae. This writer indicates that a clear distinction was already being made between Italian and French styles, for he speaks of an Italian and a French manner, the latter quite useful, so he says, at the end of a section.

While many earlier madrigals, particularly those in two voices, reflect these directions, not all are so simply composed. Even those that come from the manuscript, Vatican, Rossi 215, the source of our earliest examples, do not always follow these prescriptions; some show an effort on the part of the composer to make the lower voice more interesting, either by giving it interludes in short values or by allowing it to move in the same rhythmic patterns as the upper voice, with many short notes. Even where this involves a clear difference in movement between the two voices, both sing the text together. We give here the opening measures of the two madrigals, "Chiamando un'astorella" and "Su la rivera":



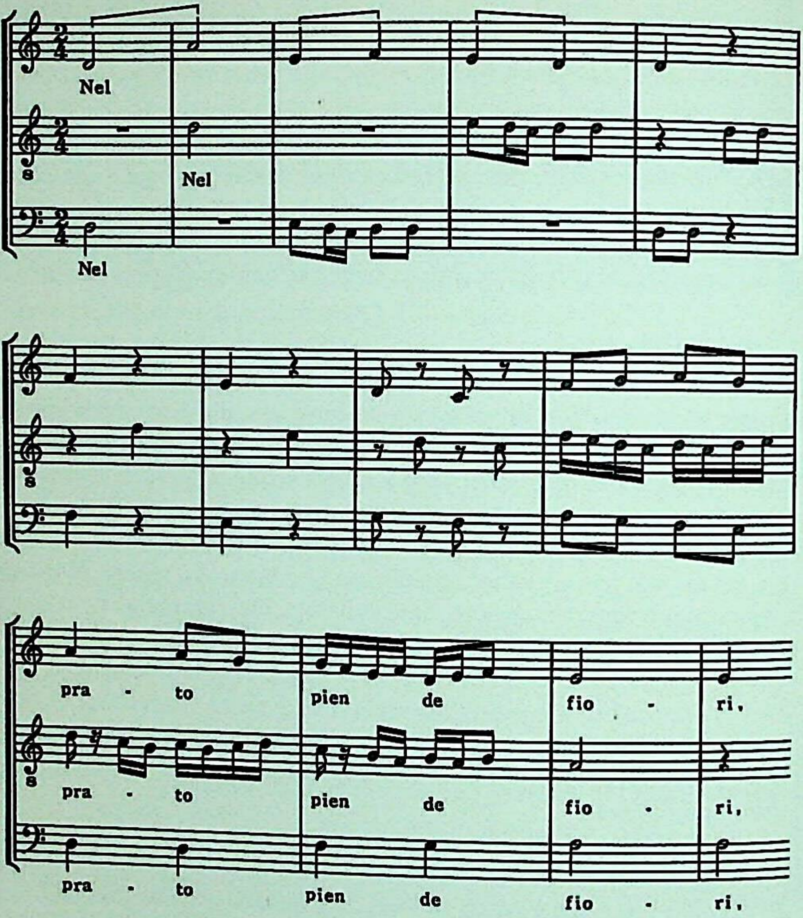
EXAMPLE 8-1.



EXAMPLE 8-2.

The later madrigal, for two and three voices, goes beyond this simple technique, for, in some two-voice works, there are short imitative passages and also hoquet. We find again a desire to make the lower voice something more than a simple support. Even in compositions for three voices, where the tenor, the lowest voice, is much in accord with the directions given by our anonymous theorist, there are occasional passages that remind one of conductus, where all three voices move together on the same syllables. One may also find contrast between the first and second sections made by number of voices as well as by a change of rhythm, the ritornello often dropping to but two as opposed to the preceding section with three. Something of the three-voice technique may be seen in our next example, the opening of the "Nel prato pien de fiori," where even the tenor is part of the contrapuntal web.

The *caccia* is, like its French counterpart, purely canonic in technique, with strict imitation. Although there are many works in two voices, like the French models, the Italians generally leaned to three-voice compositions. The third voice, a tenor, is not normally part of the canonic structure, but acts as a support in long notes to the rhythmic activity of the upper two. There are exceptions to this, however, such as in the "De' dimmi tu" of Francesco Landini, where it is the uppermost voice that stands outside the canon, only the lower two being involved in the strict imitation; this work is not a pure example of the form, for it is a mixture of the caccia and madrigal. The ritornello is in triple canon, the tenor entering at an octave below and middle voice at a fourth below the opening uppermost voice.

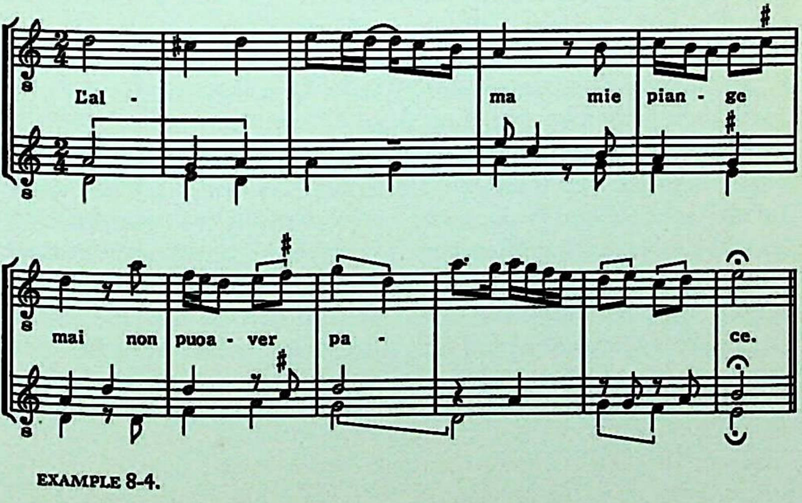

Nel
Nel
Nel
pra - to pien de fio - ri,
pra - to pien de fio - ri,
pra - to pien de fio - ri,

EXAMPLE 8-3.

Texts of the caccia often carry realistic elements, for they include shouts, birds calls, hunting cries, and various kinds of exclamations. Their subject matter is often humorous and may even descend to the licentious. The general effect is one of appeal to a high social level, one that understood the technical dexterity needed to compose the form as well as appreciate the way in which the composer could emphasize the textual meanings. In spirit, the caccia is quite close to many of the secular pieces then popular in France, such as the "Or sus" mentioned in the previous chapter.

The preserved sources of Italian Trecento music have left us about 175 madrigals and 25 cacce, with some 420 examples of the third form cultivated in the period, the *ballata*. This should not be taken to imply that the ballata is the most important form of the three, but merely that the madrigal, the major form of the early part of the century, declined in interest before the impact of the ballata, that form which was most cultivated toward the close of the period. While the madrigal continued to be composed, it no longer held as much interest and thereby suffered a certain neglect.

The form of the ballata is that of the French virelai and, in the beginning, was a monophonic dance work as its name suggests; we have no preserved examples of these types, although there are some monophonic ballate found in the Rossi manuscript, but with texts that imply nothing of the dance. The classic period of the ballata, after 1365, is that in which the form has become polyphonic, for two or three voices. As in its French equivalent, there are but two sections of music: the first for the refrain (*ripresa*) and the third and fourth lines of the strophe (the *volta*); the second for the first and second lines of the strophe (the *piedi*), and sung twice often with first and second endings (the *aperto* and *chiuso*). The form thus is, in musical terms, an ABBAA, the two B's serving for the *piedi*, the A's serving for the *ripresa* and the *volta*. As an example, we append the beginning of the ballata, "L'alma mie piange," by Francesco Landini, as transcribed from the version found in Paris, Bib. Nat., Ital. 568:



EXAMPLE 8-4.

Little attention was paid by Italian composers to motet form, either to motets of the past or to the form as a vehicle for their own composition. Only one thirteenth-century motet seems to have been copied into Italian sources of the Trecento and but a few were composed during the early part of the century. Something of the attitude of Italian musicians toward the form can be seen in the "Lux purpurata–Diligite justiciam" of Jacopo da Bologna, composed about 1342 for Luchino Visconti in Milan. Superficially it resembles the French motet, but closer inspection reveals some characteristic Italian traits. The free-composed tenor is neither isorhythmic nor isometric; its values are arranged with no discernible plan and there appears to be neither *color* nor *talea.* The upper voices have intimations of isometry, but it is not carried through. One gets the impression that Jacopo was trying to imitate the characteristics of the French motet, but without thoroughly understanding the principles involved. As with secular works, the emphasis is on the uppermost voice, the tenor acting as a support, not a generator. The style is that of a three-voice ballata, but with the bi-textuality of the motet.

A similar neglect is given to the setting of the Ordinary of the Mass. One nearly complete Ordinary is found in the Parisian manuscript already mentioned, containing all portions except the Kyrie and adding a Benedicamus. Like most of the Ordinaries found in French sources, the various sections are by different composers, the Gloria and Agnus by Ser Gherardello, the Credo by Bartolino da Firenze, and the Sanctus by Lorenzo da Firenze; the Benedicamus is anonymous. Isolated settings of the Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus are found in other sources, with one manuscript (London, British Museum, add. 29987) including a Sanctus and a Benedictus, both of which are troped in Italian; significantly, both these tropes are written in the poetic form of the madrigal.

In style, these Mass movements from the Paris manuscript are closely allied to the madrigal. The text is simultaneously declaimed by all voices, although the lower one is normally without ornament or embellishment. Imitation may appear in short sections, but there is no attempt to use this technique in more than fragmentary form; hoquet appears rarely. The overall form is derived from the breaking up of the text into small bits, these short sections then being set as units, without effort to make one flow into the other. Even in those Ordinary chants with little text, the same desire to make of the piece a mosaic of little bits is in evidence; the anonymous Benedicamus setting has five of these, the longest extending to fourteen measures of transcription, the shortest to just six, all of this within a total length of fifty measures.

Modern Italian scholars insist upon the continuity of an Italian musical tradition centered about the exposition of the beauty of the voice; no matter the subject or the period, there is always the emphasis in their studies on this point, for, in speaking of the great figures of the Ars Nova, there is frequently reference to Verdi and Puccini as the inheritors of a great past. While such statements may seem too sweeping at first glance, there is much truth in what they say, for Italian composers of the Trecento are clearly most interested in the conduct of the uppermost voice, treating it in the manner of a coloratura line, almost to the exclusion of individuality in the other voices. One may compare French and Italian methods by suggesting that the French worked up from the tenor, while the Italians worked down from the uppermost voice. To Italian composers, the tenor was that voice that filled in and supported, acting as a neutral background for the elaborate line or lines above it. To hear a caccia in three voices is a convincing demonstration, for, against the slow moving tenor, the upper voices entwine and embroider their elaborate lines in much the same way as gold and silver threads might make vivid the picture within a tapestry whose basic tone is grey or brown.

Schools and composers

Until the middle of the fourteenth century, most compositional activity was concentrated in the northern part of Italy—Milan, Venice, Verona, Rimini, and Padua acting as major centers. Although many composers of the time were born elsewhere, they eventually gravitated to one of these cities, particularly during the rule of certain musically inclined princes, men such as Mastino della Scala, tyrant of Verona from 1329 to 1351; Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna were both at one time in his service. Jacopo is believed to have been the teacher of Landini; he did produce one theoretical work, a discussion of notation.

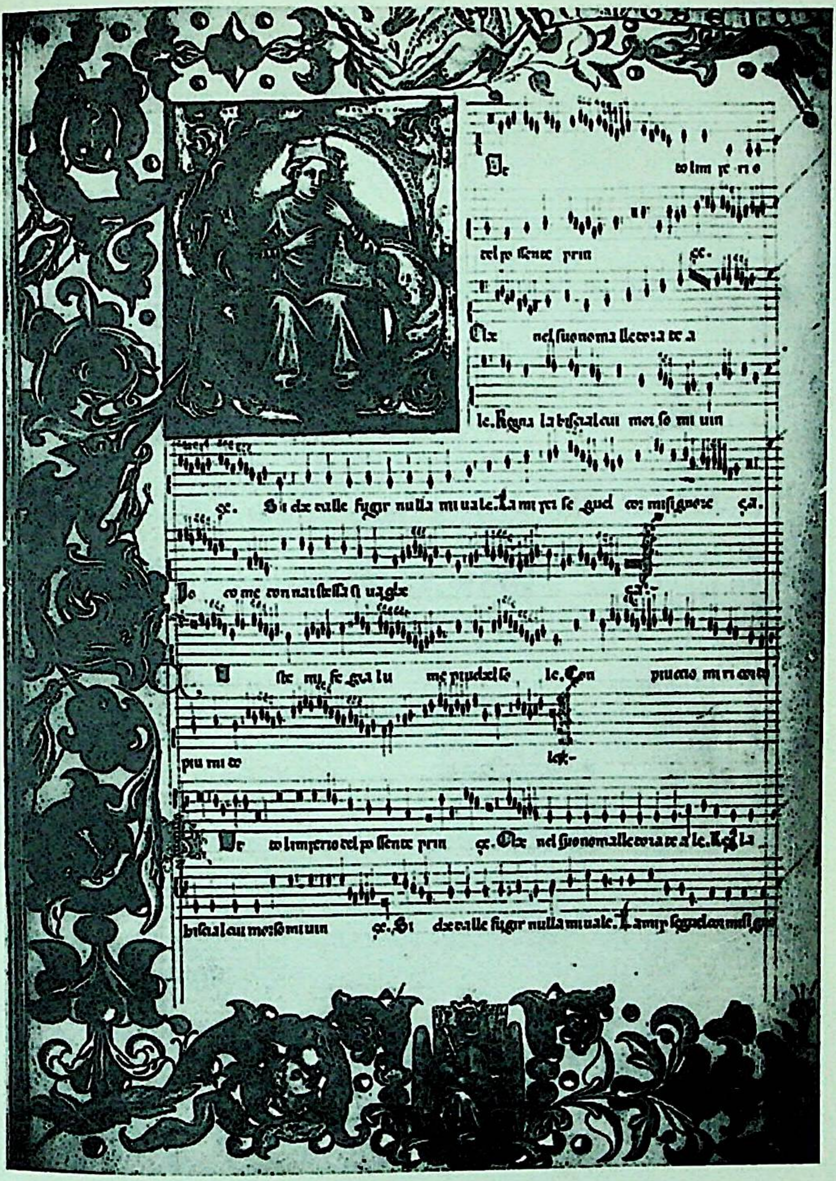
After the middle of the century, the musical center of gravity shifted South, to Tuscany and in particular to Florence. This city, perhaps better known for its humanistic leadership in the late 1400's under Lorenzo il Magnifico, was already an artistic center in the fourteenth century. As the city of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, to name only three major figures of a large group of distinguished and talented writers, it had already shown the burgeonings in literature of the full Renaissance to come. Its musical leadership during the same period was of equal distinction and represents the height of Italian achievement within the Italian Ars Nova.

Of the many composers working in and around Florence in the third quarter of the century, the greatest figure is that of Francesco Landini (1335?-1397), a musician-poet comparable in his versatility and genius to Guillaume de Machaut in France at the same time. Blind at an early age from the aftereffects of smallpox, Landini became the leading organist of the city, known particularly for his abilities on the small portative organ. His non-musical talents were also highly appreciated, for he was a part of the intellectual circles around the University of Florence that included Salutati. As a poet, he wrote many of the texts to which he set his music and, in addition, composed a Latin poem in defense of the logic of William of Occam.

Landini's outstanding position was recognized by his contemporaries, for his output makes up about one-fourth the repertoire of the Italian Ars Nova that is preserved, its high place indicated by the great number of sources into which it was copied. Unlike the works of most other Florentine musicians of the time, which appear only in sources from Tuscany proper, Landini's compositions come in manuscripts from other parts of Italy; from the evidence of these sources plus certain poetic texts, it is probable that Landini had many close connections to the North, particularly Venice. It is possible that he may have visited that city many times, to display his skill as a performer and composer.

Of Landini's 154 preserved compositions, the vast majority are ballate, 91 for two and 42 for three voices, with 8 others in double versions, for two and for three. The remainder of the output is divided between the madrigal, with 9 for two and 2 for three voices, and the caccia, with but two examples. It is also believed that he wrote motets, for there are surviving records to show that at least five were commissioned; these, however, have been lost.

Most of these compositions are preserved in one of the more

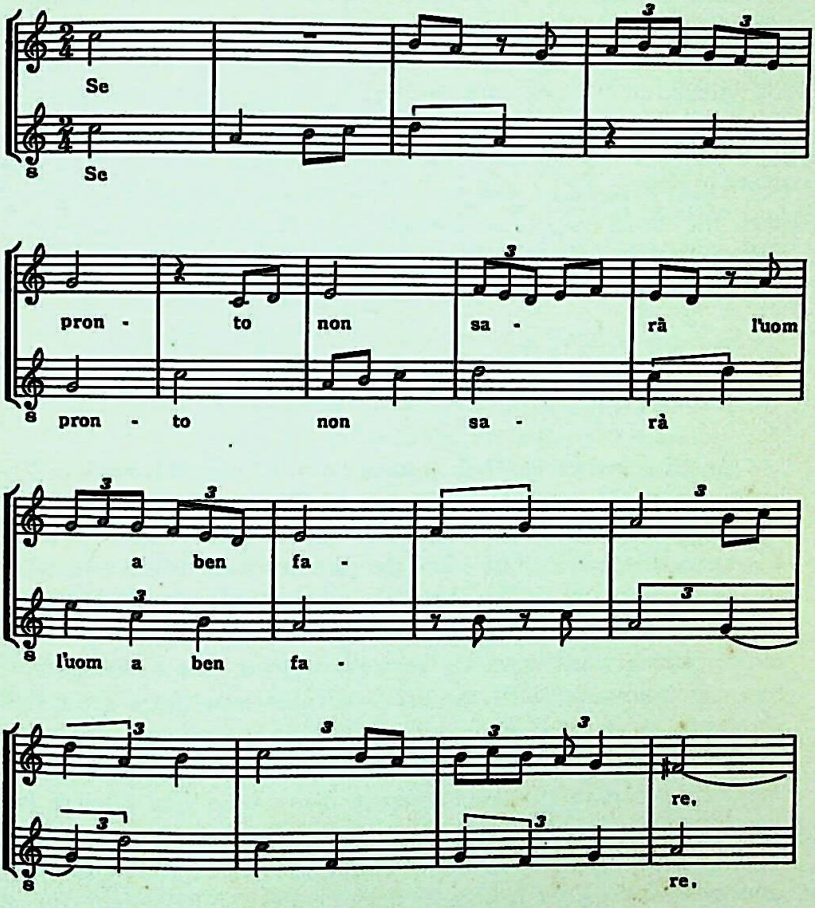


Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Palat. 87, folio 7 verso. This highly illuminated page gives a part of Jacobus de Bononia's madrigal, "Sotto l'imperio." The miniature is presumably a portrait of Jacobus, with his name given in alternating blue and red letters at the upper edge of the page.

elaborate manuscripts of the early fifteenth century, the *Squarcialupi Codex*, so named because it was at one time the property of Antonio Squarcialupi, the organist of the Duomo at Florence during the time of Lorenzo. Although the manuscript is not one of the more accurate sources for the music which it contains, it is most extensively illuminated, containing among its miniatures a portrait of Landini playing the portative. It seems to have been put together as an attempt to collect the works of the outstanding Florentine musicians of the Ars Nova; the music of Landini occupies almost half the volume's 352 pieces. From the format of the book, its use of vellum, and the emphasis on sheer beauty of illumination, it is evident that the codex was never intended to be part of a practical musician's working library, but was rather to be an ornament within the private collection of a book lover, a manifestation of the steadily increasing desire of Italian upper classes to picture themselves as culturally distinguished.

Unlike the music of Machaut, Landini's works show the Italian concentration upon the voice, for the greater part of his compositions are vocally oriented. The overwhelming majority of the ballate, for instance, are in the form of the unaccompanied duet, with 82 of the 91 two-voice examples being for this medium. Within the three-voice ballate, one, "Perche di novo," is a triple ballata, with texts for all three voices; on the other hand, most of this group is written for vocal solo with accompaniment for two instruments, suggesting some French influence. The nine two-voice madrigals are also all vocal duets, the two three-voice ones vocal trios. "Musica son" is a triple madrigal, with individual texts for all three voices. The madrigal "Si dolce," a terzet, is of particular interest, for it shows the influence of French isorhythmic procedures. Here, the tenor is completely isorhythmic, with isometry in the two upper parts. "Adiu, adiu" is completely French in that it is a virelai and, unlike any other of his works, has a French text.

Landini's handling of melismata implies a strong feeling for vocal technique, with a limpidness of flow matched by no other composer of his time. Penultimate syllables are often emphasized with sweeping melodic insertions, leading finally into graceful cadences. To match the smoothness of individual line, there is also a harmonic clarity and avoidance of dissonance in contrapuntal movement; harsh sequences of parallel seconds and sevenths, as well as fifths and octaves, are no longer constant parts of the polyphonic web, and triadic formations are quite common, except at cadence points where the traditional perfect intervals are found. The overall effect is one of suavity and easy flow, typically Italian. To show something of this, we give the opening measures of the two-voice ballata, "Se pronto," from the version of the Squarcialupi Codex:



EXAMPLE 8-5.

Within Landini's work, there is already evidence of considerable influence from France, not only in the introduction of certain peculiarly French features of rhythmic complication and formal construction, but within the notation itself; the pure Italian notational practices of the early Trecento have begun to be displaced in favor of methods whose details had been perfected under the impact of French musical style. After Landini, in the latter part of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, there is more and more of a turn to French models, not only in notation and rhythm, but also in the forms themselves and the language used. The madrigal then disappears almost completely and, although there is still some concentration upon the ballata, many composers turn to the ballade and virelai, composing both to French texts. Before, French characteristics had been impressed on Italian works; now it is the reverse, for these compositions are French pieces with an Italian accent. Native Italian musical art was not to recover for more than a century from the initial impact of French practice, remaining submerged under successive waves of non-Italian domination until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Italian notation

As we stated earlier, Italian notation in its purest form is a derivation from the methods employed by Pierre de la Croix; it has been suggested that he was an Italian who brought his ideas to Paris. In essence, the system is based on the division of the brevis into from two to twelve parts, with a verbal description indicating the number of semibreves to the brevis and their internal groupings; in practice, the describing word or words were abbreviated, as, for example, *.n.*, meaning *novenaria*, with the brevis divided into three groups of three semibreves each or nine in all. Within the musical line, those groups making up the value of a brevis were separated one from the other by points of division, acting in many ways like modern bar lines. To indicate values other than the standard semibrevis, tails of various kinds were added, both up and down, to the oblique, with and without flags; the basic note shapes could also be altered, for, to indicate shades of mensural meaning, they could be written as solid or hollow notes in either black or red. Italian notation from its inception could thus notate many things not easily possible in the system of de Vitry and de Muris, but it had one inherent weakness, that its complications were restricted to the brevis grouping; no syncopation was possible and rhythmic intricacies could not be carried from one group to another.

With increasing French influence around the middle of the century, Italian notation began to adapt certain features of the system employed by musicians of that country; Italian interest in the possibilities of syncopation as exploited by the French forced revision of their system. Italian nomenclature was retained for the various kinds of mensural groupings, but its meaning and notation were now close to the French system involving modus, tempus, and prolatio. This notation, a mixture of both French and Italian elements, is found normally in works by composers of the later school; almost all the compositions of Landini are written in this mixed manner. Certain works of this mid-century may be found notated differently in various sources, showing a transition away from Italian methods to those of France; while the tonal effect of the two versions is the same, the visual appearance is quite different.

By the end of the century, the victory of French notation was complete. An anonymous treatise of the late fourteenth century, written in Italian for a Florentine convent of nuns, gives nothing but the rules for French notational procedures, without mention of Italian methods. Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, in his two treatises on notation written about the beginning of the fifteenth century, pleads the advantages of the Italian manner in a most persuasive language, but it is evident, even to him, that it is a lost cause and that French notation has won the day. The style for which Italian notation was so fitting was no longer in existence and there was thus no reason for its retention.

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9

The Passing of Medieval Music

By the end of the fourteenth century, the decay of the medieval world and all it stood for was an accomplished fact, with ample evidence of the inability of its institutions to cope with the difficulties brought on by changing concepts of social organization and purpose. The Church, so long the acknowledged guide and director of man's activities on earth as preparation for his soul's eternal life in heaven, had, in spite of all its efforts, become a political weapon in the hands of ambitious kings. Its claims as the arbiter of all Christendom, with papal supremacy over all human affairs, were no longer taken seriously by those in power; the thesis of Marsiglio of Padua, announced in his *Defensor Pacis* of 1324, that kings were superior in secular affairs to any pope and that the Church was but one activity of the State, was well on its way toward general acceptance. Certainly the events of the time, the Great Schism, the revolt of the French clergy against the Avignonese Benedict XIII in 1398, the growing pressure from secular princes for the convening of a council to settle the problems of spiritual leadership—these and many others indicate the distance traveled since the days of Boniface VIII and his claims for papal primacy in all matters, sacred and secular.

National affairs were in no better condition, for political disruption was evident all over Europe. In France, governmental paralysis was endemic; with the accession of Charles VI in 1380, revolts of both commoners and nobles succeeded one upon the other; Charles' period of insanity led to intrigues and instability climaxed by outright civil war. In England, the situation was hardly better, for, under Richard II, only a short period in the middle of his reign could be called peaceful; his rule had begun with the Peasants' Revolt (1381) and closed with his forced abdication and imprisonment in 1399. Not until the time of Henry V, well into the fifteenth century, was there any real sense of direction. Italy too was politically confused, for most of the peninsula was involved in intermittent wars, the aftermath of the Guelf-Ghibelline rivalries of earlier times. Rome, no longer the sole center of European religious hegemony, was at a low point; Florence, although enjoying a surface prosperity, was soon to suffer a series of defeats in battle and failures of its financial houses that would topple them from their former position of distinction. In Milan, the death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1402 opened a period of anarchy not to be closed until the tyranny of Francesco Sforza, beginning in 1447; Venice was the only stable city in all of Italy, but with problems of trade and commerce that eventually led to a long series of expensive wars with the Turks, beginning in 1416. Germany, with knotty problems of succession and nationalism, was in continual turmoil; we have already mentioned the simultaneous presence of three Holy Roman Emperors.

With such a state of affairs, it can be no surprise that the music of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries has little artistic validity or inspiration. An artistic situation in which the goals of a previous civilization and its social stability have been discarded, but without the introduction of new ideals and functions or an established social order, could but lead to sterility and formalism, particularly in music, where the connections between form and function had, in medieval times, been so close. Feeling no aesthetic goal for his creations nor a secure place in a stable society, the composer of the closing years of the century retreated into technical complexity, with little more than this to distinguish his music. Little in the immediate future could be hoped for from those areas that had brought medieval music to its peak; just as Italian music had fallen before that of France, so did that of France give way before that of the North.

France at the close of the Ars Nova

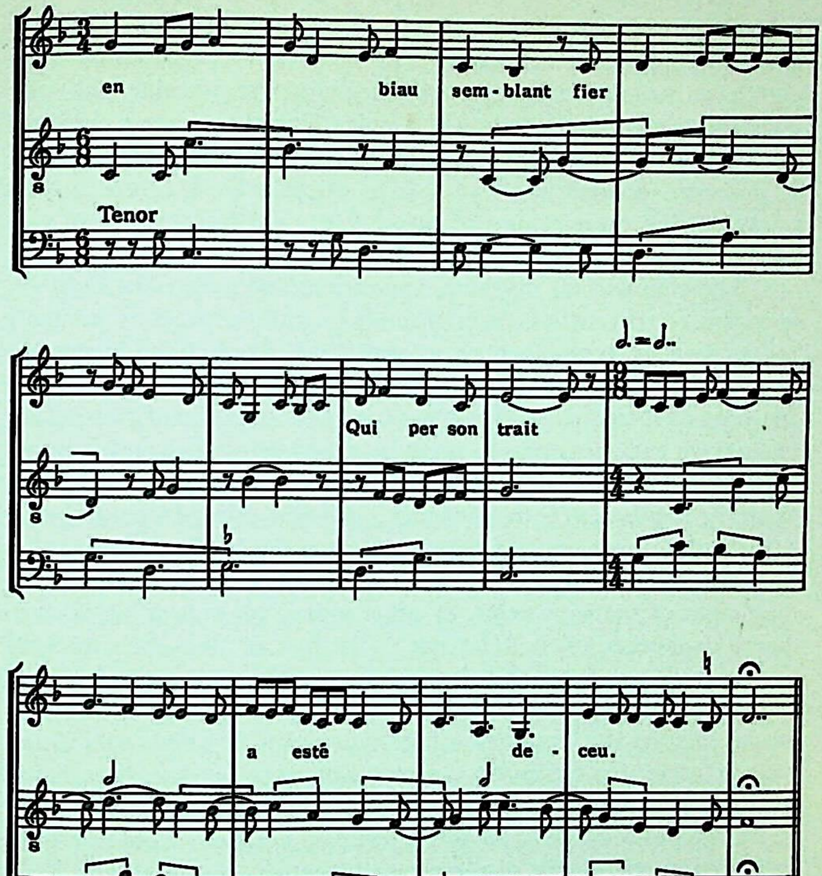
The most significant document showing the decay of French music in the late fourteenth century is the Chantilly manuscript, copied in Florence during the fifteenth century but reflecting the musical situation in Southern France and Aragon during the latter part of the preceding century. Its 113 pieces indicate the changes in style and repertoire of the late Ars Nova, with notational complexities suggesting that the source from which Chantilly was copied was designed to examine the sight-singing abilities of aspirants for employment within a royal chapel.

Within Chantilly, the preponderant place is given to the ballade, with seventy compositions, the overwhelming majority for three voices. There are, in addition, thirty other works in the fixed forms, divided about equally between the rondeau and the virelai; six rondeaux are isometric. The volume closes with thirteen isorhythmic motets, nine for four voices and four for three voices. While several composition are of a previous time, four coming from the earlier Ivrea manuscript and three by Machaut, the bulk of the manuscript contains music by composers of the last quarter of the century. While many of these men were clearly connected to the Papal Court at Avignon, some were part of such diverse locales as the Courts of the Duke of Lancaster, Gaston Phoebus, the Duke of Foix, John I and Martin I of Aragon, Charles V and Charles VI of France, and

Jean, Duke of Berry. Many of these composers had careers extending well into the fifteenth century, for we find Johannes Cesaris and Gacien Reyneau, to name only two, still composing in the 1420's.

Within Chantilly, the evident stress is upon the secular, although a handful of works (two ballades, one virelai, and three motets) have sacred connotations; they are, however, without fixed liturgical position. Among the most interesting of the secular ballades is that by F. Andrieu, a lament on the death of Guillaume de Machaut in 1377, based on a text by Eustache Deschamps, the friend of Chaucer. Two other works, both isorhythmic motets, have texts based on lists of choir members, a category also found in other sources; one here is by John Aleyne, an Englishman, and the other is anonymous and lists singers within the Augustinian order at Florence. As additions of a later date to the manuscript, two works by M. Baude Cordier show something of the effort to make even the appearance of the music beautiful: one, "Belle, bonne, sage," is written in the shape of a heart, with the staves curving to form the outline, the other; "Tout par compas," is in a circular shape, a visual representation of the opening words of the text.

The outstanding characteristic of Chantilly is its notational complexity, seen in its use of all possible means of indicating mensural values. Not only are there the time signatures for tempus and prolatio suggested by de Vitry and de Muris, note shapes in solid black, solid red, and hollow red, but there are also many special directions for the correct realization of the composer's intent. Most of these indicate how the mensural signs are to be read, giving specific directions for interpretation. Not all of these devices appear in every composition and, in many cases, there is no need for those that are used. Too often, there are notational complexities that have no other goal than that of being difficult to interpret; certain passages could easily have been written in a simpler manner, so the music itself seems but an excuse for piling notational complications upon one another. There are varying levels of complexity within the modern compositions of Chantilly, yet even the simplest of these are filled with syncopations and rhythmic intricacies that go far beyond anything known before. To give a sample of the kind of complication that can be found, we give the second half of the opening section of the ballade, "Se doit il plus," of Johannes de Alte Curie, an otherwise unknown composer:



EXAMPLE 9-1.

The opening, that part omitted in our example, is not overly filled with syncopation, with all three voices in the same 6/8 rhythm. At the point where the example begins, there is a new time signature given for the uppermost voice, while that for the lower two remains the same. While the tenor maintains a fairly even pace, the contratenor begins a series of syncopations not brought to rest until the cadence, where all voices begin a new mensuration. This closing section is typical of the late Ars Nova, for not only is there continuous syncopation of the duplum against the tenor, but there is also a rhythmic opposition between the lower two voices, based on eight eighths to the measure, against the triplum with its nine; the only constant element is the brevis, this unit filling the measure throughout, always the same in duration. In the course of the composition, it is, however, divided into two groups of three (6/8), three groups of two (3/4), three groups of three (9/8), and four groups of two (4/4).

The emphasis on rhythmic oppositions and their notation is responsible for the introduction of time signatures formed by numbers rather than by symbols; both works by M. Baude Cordier employ one or two numbers at the beginning of individual sections. The meaning of these numbers, however, is not that of today, but is a direction for the performer to make his new mensuration in a proportion related to the previous one. For example, a section might begin with the numbers 9/8; the meaning is not that of a grouping of nine eighths into three units of dotted quarters, but is the direction that the performer is now to sing nine notes in the time span required to sing eight of the same value, in either a previous section or as compared to another voice. Reference to the final section of the preceding example will show that the triplum is performing nine eighths to eight in the duplum and tenor; the time signature used in the original source defines this proportional relation and is explained in a direction given by the composer as a prescription to be taken as a *canon* or rule, the original meaning of the term. This system of numerical time signatures, referred to as proportional notation, would be fully explored by composers of the fifteenth century, but its origins lie in the late Ars Nova. With its use, rhythmic counterpoint of a highly complex nature was possible, for polyrhythmic contrasts of all kinds could thus be easily notated; all that was required was an understanding of some basic metric unit or combination of units that could then be further divided into smaller groups in almost limitless ways.

The artificiality of rhythmic and notational complexities seen in Chantilly is a direct reflection of the artificiality of French chivalric society during the late years of the fourteenth century. When that artificial society met its defeat in the rout at Agincourt (1415), with the slaughter of the flower of French knighthood, France fell from its high place to become the battleground for English and Burgundian expansion. Just as the kingdom so carefully built up in the days of Philip Augustus became but a shadow of its former grandeur, so did the music of its beaten society fall before the innovations of its invaders. Although certain French composers continued production, their work was quickly overshadowed by that of the new generation of English and Burgundian musicians who, like their noble masters, assumed the place of leadership.

Italy at the close of the Ars Nova

Just as the close of the French Ars Nova is reflected in the Chantilly manuscript, so the final years of the Italian Trecento are summarized by two sources, one from Modena and the other, now in Paris and known as the Reina codex, from Venice. Like Chantilly, both manuscripts show the influence of French rhythmic complexity and its notation, for the same devices are used for the same purposes. Although most of the composers represented in Modena are Italian, principally from the Northern parts of that country, the major form used is that of the ballade, with stress on the use of French as the language for its texts. The madrigal, that form so typically Italian, has disappeared and the ballata is no longer of great importance.

Stylistically, the melismata no longer have the limpid flow so characteristic of the music of Landini, but, subject to rhythmic aberrations, have become mechanical virtuosity without musical meaning. The emphasis on rhythmic complexity has destroyed the character of vocal line that was the heart of Trecento technique in favor of an artificiality that is purely French. The line between Italian and French styles has virtually disappeared; reflecting this rapprochement, Chantilly includes twelve works also found in Modena.

The major Italian survival is in the area of notation, for, although certain elements of French notational practice were early taken over by the Italians, there is still in Modena evidence that Italian predilection for indication of rhythmic values by unusual shapes of notes still exists. In addition to the normal French forms, there are numerous varieties of tailed notes, with flags above and below, to the right and to the left; these are placed on both full and hollow black and red notes, thus giving the page a strikingly exotic appearance. As in Chantilly, many of these notational excesses are unnecessary, for the values could easily have been indicated in a simpler manner; there are also many verbal directions to clarify the meaning of the notation.

Already victims of French domination, the Italians were, like the French, destined to fall in turn before the musical talents of the *Ultramontani*, the men from the other side of the Alps. As early as the 1360's, Johannes Ciconia, a native of Liège, had come to Italy as one of the first Northerners to make his way there; although he returned to his native land for a time, he came back to Italy again in 1403, to Padua where he spent the remainder of his life. While his early works show a heavy Italian influence, those which come from the end of his life indicate the development of a newer and simpler style that was to supersede the involuted compositions then characteristic of Italian music.

With the reëstablishment of the papacy in Rome and the revival of the chapel there, the invasion from the North led by Ciconia gradually drove Italian musicians from places of importance. Other men from Liège, Rheims, Tournai and, in particular, from Cambrai brought with them a new simplicity and a new approach to harmonic sonority that was to make of Italy a musical province of Burgundy and the Lowlands. With their appearance, Italian music as such came to an end for a century, not to reappear as an individual manifestation until well into the sixteenth century. While Italy was to become supreme in the visual arts, through the efforts of its native creators, in music it was to be represented during the fifteenth century by composers of almost all other parts of Europe save Italy; the history of music in Italy during the first quarter of the new century was to be represented by such musicians as Johannes Brasart, Nicholas Grenon, Guillaume Legrant, Arnold de Lantins, Johannes de Limburgia, and Guillaume Dufay, all non-Italians by both birth and musical training. To the influence of these men from Burgundy was to be added, at a slightly later date, the impact of English practice, under the leadership of John Dunstable and Leonel Power. With these two groups, the musical Renaissance properly begins.

Music theory at the close of the Ars Nova

By the opening years of the fifteenth century, the deep cleavage between medieval speculative and practical approaches to music theory was almost complete. We have already noted the increasing tendency of theorists of the early part of the fourteenth century to concentrate their efforts upon the novelties in the musical techniques of their time, the description of notational practice, improvised counterpoint and its rules, together with all other matters necessary for the education of the performer. Speculative matter had already begun to disappear from the vast majority of these treatises as of no real importance in the study of musical technique.

At the end of the Ars Nova, this tendency had solidified into a standard procedure, particularly in view of the overpowering preoccupation of musicians with the difficulties caused by the rhythmic complications of the music then being composed. While some few speculative treatises in the medieval manner continued to be produced, those of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, Johannes Ciconia, Anselmus of Parma, and Ugolino of Orvieto taking the major place, they all have about them an air of unreality and lack of contact with the developments of their own time. The *Nova Musica* of Ciconia, from the last years of his life, is a treatise which at first glance could easily be taken for a work of the twelfth century, for its contents make no effort to discuss in speculative terms any music composed after that date; Ciconia even speaks of organum as though it were a contemporary category, although the production of that form had long since ceased.

There is an effort in some treatises to fit the new developments within the old medieval framework, albeit an unsuccessful one. Attempts are made, for example, to extend the Guidonian solmization system to include the new chromatics. There are efforts to give new ways of monochord tuning that will handle the added accidentals and give them their proper numerical ratios according to speculative procedures of the past. Finally, justifications are offered for the developments of notation, so that the same philosophical utilization can be made of these novelties as had been made of the elements of the original system. The line of demarcation between the old speculation and the new practicality, however, was far too great by this time to be successfully bridged. Ugolino's *Declaratio* is the last great effort to consider, in the medieval manner, speculation and practice as but two aspects of one great subject; after him, speculative theory will be considered as a support for the practical, rather than vice versa. Musical practice from the fifteenth century on will develop its rules of procedure on the basis of expediency, without need or regard for speculative niceties. During the Renaissance, when speculative justification is offered, it will carry little weight when balanced against the sensual and affective qualities demanded by sounding music; the rules laid down by speculation carry no obligation. Music continued to be taught in Renaissance universities as a speculative subject, but the raw material of its study was no longer, as it had been in the Middle Ages, tied to contemporary practice; its flavor was antiquarian and its meaning not immediate.

Conclusion

Music in the Middle Ages, like all the arts, had its required function, one without which it could not have existed. This function, a double one as a stage of the *quadrivium* and as a part of medieval ecclesiastical rites, gave it an impetus toward development and complication that led it to the heights within the thirteenth century. Spurred on by the twin demands of the philosopher and the Church, musicians bent their energies to furnishing music that could satisfy to the fullest extent the needs of both. As a necessary part of education, music became an integral part of that way of thinking that still remains as a monument to the mental capabilities of medieval man. As a servant of the organizing leadership of the Middle Ages, the Church, music could and did develop its potentialities in perfect balance with the functions required of it therein. No greater fulfillment of both an aesthetic and a practical pair of goals can be found than in the music of Leonin and Perotin, where the services of the Church stand enhanced with that *musica instrumentalis*, which implies within its sounding structures the superior *musica humana* and *musica mundana*.

Yet, as always, within the full flowering of perfection the seeds of decay were contained. With the passing of the thirteenth century, the failure of the Church to maintain its supremacy as the guide of the world and center of human existence led to a degradation of function and a disregard for its needs that eventually gave free rein to the practicing musicians' interest in the intricacies of technique for its own sake, with the exaltation of the purely sensual. No longer under firm control, excessive interest in goals and procedures not tied to what had been the central purposes of music gave a centrifugal force to its concrete manifestations, so great that disintegration could be the only result. With no meaning except that of technical intricacy, the music of the late Ars Nova could only vanish upon the appearance of a new age, one with new and clear aesthetic goals and functions within which musicians could now find a secure place. This new age we call the Renaissance.

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